LIVES
OF THE
ADMIRALS
And other EMINENT
Britiſh SEAMEN.

CONTAINING
Their Perſonal HISTORIES, and a Detail of all their Public SERVICES.

INCLUDING
A New and Accurate NAVAL HISTORY from the earlieſt Accounts of Time; and clearly proving, by a continued Series of Facts, our uninterrupted Claim to, and Enjoyment of, the Dominion of our SEAS.

INTERSPERSED
With many curious PASSAGES relating to our DISCOVERIES, PLANTATIONS, and COMMERCE.
The whole ſupported by proper Authorities.

By *JOHN CAMPBELL*, Eſq;

VOL. II.

The SECOND EDITION, carefully reviſed, corrected, and enlarged.

LONDON:
Printed for T. WALLER, at the *Crown* and *Mitre*, oppoſite to *Fetter-Lane*, *Fleet-Street*.

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CHAP. I.

The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN *under the reign of king* James I. *including also an account of the progress of our trade, and the growth of our plantations; together with memoirs of the most eminent seamen who flourished in that space of time.*

THERE were many accidents that contributed to the peaceable accession of the king of *Scots* to the *English* throne, notwithstanding what had happened to his mother, and the known aversion of the nation to the dominion of strangers. On the one hand, the famous

secretary *Cecil* and all his friends, who were in the principal posts of the government, had been for a long time secretly in king *James*'s interest, though, to avoid the suspicion of their intrigues, they had sometimes pretended an inclination to the *Infanta*'s title [a]; which I suppose to have been the cause, why some persons of great quality, who sided with the *Cecils* against *Essex*, came afterwards to fall into intrigues with the court of *Spain*. On the other hand, the potent family of the *Howards*, with all such of the nobility and gentry as were inclined to the old religion, had an unfeigned affection for the king of *Scots* [b]. The bulk of the people too were inclined to wish him for their king, out of respect to the memory of *Essex*, who was held to be his martyr, as well as out of dislike to some of queen *Elizabeth*'s ministry, who they believed would be instantly discarded, when he should be once seated on the throne. Yet there wanted not many powerful enemies to this succession both abroad and at home. The *Spaniards* had views for themselves [c], the *French* king had an aversion mixed with contempt for king *James*, and the pope had many projects for restoring his power here, by bringing in some prince of his own religion [d]. There were, besides, some *English* pretenders, *viz.* such as claimed under the house of *Suffolk*, and had been competitors against queen *Mary* [e]; and some again, as the *Bassets*, who affected to derive themselves from the house of *Plantagenet* [f]; so that no small precaution was necessary to prevent any disturbance

[a] Sir Henry Wotton's remains, p. 211. Naunton's fragmenta regalia, Osborne's works, vol. ii. p. 104. [b] Stowe, Speed, Wilson, Baker, Echard, Rapin. [c] Doleman's treatise of the succession. [d] Lettres du cardinal d'ossat. [e] Treatise of the succession, p 196. [f] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 114. Wood's Ath. Oxon. vol. i. col. 366.

bance on the death of the queen, or oppoſition to the deſign the miniſtry had formed, of immediately proclaiming king *James*, and bringing him with all convenient ſpeed to *London*.

In the methods made uſe of for this purpoſe, the wiſdom of the great men by whom they were concerted was very conſpicuous. For, in the firſt place, care was taken that the lieutenants in the northern counties, and all who had any authority in thoſe parts, were either well affected to king *James*, or abſolute dependants on the adminiſtration [s]. Then, as to the fleet, which was of mighty conſequence at ſuch a juncture, proviſion was made for its ſecurity without the leaſt jealouſy given, that this was the council's intention. For, it having been found of great benefit to the nation, to have a ſtrong ſquadron of ſhips on the *Spaniſh* coaſt from *February* to *November*, there could be no umbrage taken at the increaſing of theſe in the ſpring of the year 1602, becauſe the war with *Spain* ſtill continued; and though the lords had little confidence in Sir *Richard Leveſon*, who for ſome years had been intruſted with this command, yet they would not remove him, but contented themſelves with appointing ſir *William Monſon*, on whom they could depend, his vice-admiral, giving him, however, the command of a better ſhip than the admiral himſelf had. They likewiſe intimated to ſir *William*, when he went to his command, (the queen being then ſo low that her recovery was not expected) that in caſe of any ſtir, lord *Thomas Howard* ſhould immediately come and take charge of the fleet, by entering ſir *William Monſon*'s ſhip, and ſir *William* go on board ſir

s Speed, Echard, Rapin.

Richard Leveſon's, with a *ſuperſedeas* to his commiſſion [a]. But, as it fell out, there was no occaſion for executing this project: the queen died, king *James* came in peaceably, was proclaimed the twenty-fourth of *March* 1602, and crowned on the twenty-fifth of *July* following; the fleet in the mean time keeping ſometimes on the *Engliſh*, ſometimes on the *French* coaſt, and thereby preventing any trouble from abroad, if any ſuch had really been intended.

KING *James*, at his acceſſion to the *Engliſh* crown, was about thirty-ſix years of age, and, if he had been a private perſon, would not have rendered himſelf very remarkable either by his virtues or his vices. Sober and religious he certainly was; and as to learning, he had enough, if he had known better how to uſe it. The greateſt of his failings were timorouſneſs, diſſimulation, and a high opinion of his own wiſdom; which, however, were more excuſable than modern writers are willing to allow, if we conſider the accident that happened to his mother before his birth, the ſtrange treatment he met with in *Scotland*, from the ſeveral factions prevailing in that kingdom during his junior years, and the exceſſive flatteries beſtowed on him after he came hither, by all ranks of people. The nature of this work does not lead me to ſpeak of any part of his adminiſtration, except that which relates to maritime affairs, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with obſerving, that, though it was impoſſible for him to have made himſelf much acquainted with ſuch matters while he continued in *Scotland*, yet it does not at all appear, that he was negligent of naval affairs, after he was once ſeated

[a] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 510.

ſeated on the *Engliſh* throne, unleſs his haſty concluſion of a peace with *Spain* (which, however, was done by the advice of his council) may be reckoned an error in this reſpect; or his too great fear of engaging in any war afterwards ſhould be ſo accounted.

THE acceſſion of king *James* gave a fair opportunity to the houſe of *Auſtria*, to make an end of the long quarrel which had ſubſiſted with *England*; becauſe during all that time they had been in peace and amity with king *James* as king of *Scots* [i]. Immediately after his arrival at *London*, the arch-duke ſent over a miniſter to the *Engliſh* court, and in conſequence of his negotiations, a peace was ſoon after concluded with *Spain* [k]. Some of the writers of thoſe times tell us, that it was chiefly brought about by the large bribes given to all the king's miniſters and favourites, eſpecially to the counteſs of *Suffolk*, for her huſband's intereſt, and to the earl of *Northumberland*, for his own; which gratuities they would further perſuade us, enabled them to build the two famous ſtructures of *Audley-End* in *Eſſex*, and *Northumberland-Houſe* in the *Strand* [l]. It ſeems, however, more reaſonable to conclude, that this peace was the effect of the king's inclination, ſupported by the advice of his moſt eminent ſtateſmen, ſome of whom were known to have been for this meaſure in the queen's time [m]. There were two treaties, one of peace and alliance, the other of commerce, both ſign-

[i] See Camden's annals of king James's reign. Stowe, Wilſon, Sanderſon, Echard, Rapin. [k] Stowe's annals, p. 844. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p 229. [l] Oſborne's traditional memoirs of the reign of king James, in his work, vol. ii. p. 105. Sir A. W. court and character of king James, Wilſon, Rapin. [m] See the life of lord Burleigh written by one of his domeſtics in the firſt volume of Peck's deſiderata curioſa.

ed at *London* the eighteenth of *Auguſt* 1604 [n], the conſtable of *Caſtile*, the greateſt ſubject in *Spain*, being ſent over for that purpoſe. All the trading part of the nation were very well pleaſed with this proceeding, and would have been much more ſo, if the king had not taken a very ſtrange ſtep upon its concluſion. He erected a company of merchants, who were to carry on the *Spaniſh* commerce excluſively, which gave both general and juſt offence; for as the whole nation had borne the expence of the war, and trade in general had ſuffered thereby, it was but reaſonable, that the benefits of peace ſhould be as univerſal. This evil, however, was of no long continuance; the parliament repreſented to the king ſo clearly the miſchiefs that would inevitably attend ſuch a monopoly, that his majeſty was content to diſſolve the new-erected company, and to leave the *Spaniſh* trade entirely open [o].

It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that there was a very ſtrong party againſt making this peace, and who did not ceaſe to publiſh their apprehenſions concerning it, even after it was concluded [p]. The point was certainly of high importance, otherwiſe it would not have been ſo warmly canvaſſed in thoſe days; and it muſt alſo have been pretty difficult, ſince the diſpute has reached even to our time, modern writers differing as much about the wiſdom of king *James* in this article, as thoſe who lived in his time. To diſcuſs the matter here, would require more room than we have to ſpare; to paſs it entirely over would be amiſs, conſidering the near relation it has to the ſubject of this work. I will, therefore, content myſelf with

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[n] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 579—596. Stowe's annals, p. 846. [o] Rapin, &c. [p] Camden's annals, of king James. Wilſon's hiſtory, Winwood's memorials, vol. ii. p. 7.

with ſtating the beſt reaſons that have been offered againſt the peace, as they were drawn up by the maſterly hand of ſir *Walter Ralegh*, and the anſwers given to them; both which I will leave to the reader's conſideration, without any comment of my own [a]. Sir *Walter*'s reaſons were five, turning chiefly on the inability of the king of *Spain* to continue the war, and the mighty profits he was likely to reap from the concluſion of the peace. 1. He alledged, *That his catholic majeſty had ſo exhauſted his treaſure, that he was no longer able to maintain the arch-duke's army in* Flanders. To this it was anſwered, that the fact was very doubtful, eſpecially, if the king of *Spain* was in a condition, to beſtow thoſe mighty bribes, that were talked of, at the time this peace was made. 2. *The interruption of his trade, and the loſſes of his merchants were ſo great, as to break both his* banks *at Seville*. It is granted, that the ſubjects of the king of *Spain* ſuffered exceſſively by the continuance of this war, but it does not follow, that we gained in proportion; nor is it clear, that, if his catholic majeſty had been undone, the king of *Great-Britain* or his ſubjects would have been gainers. 3. *He was afraid that the* Engliſh *and* Netherlands *would plant in the* Weſt-Indies. If this fear drove him to grant us better terms, it was our advantage; if not, we could have obtained little by ſettling in thoſe parts of *America* which are claimed by *Spain*; and it was never pretended that we made this war to extend the trade of the *Dutch*. 4. *The king of* Spain *makes this peace to recruit*

[a] Theſe are to be found in ſir Walter's dialogue between a recuſant and a Jeſuit among the genuine remains, publiſhed at the end of an abridgment of his hiſtory of the world, by Philip Ralegh, Eſq; 8vo. 1700.

his coffers, and enable himself to break into war again. To judge by what was paſt, this could not well be the motive; for it could hardly be ſuppoſed that *Spain* would ſoon recover as great ſtrength, as ſhe had at the commencement of the war, when yet ſhe was unable to execute her own projects, or to defend herſelf againſt us. 5. *The king of* Spain *took this ſtep, that the* Engliſh *might decline, and forget the paſſages and pilotage to the* Weſt-Indies, *and their ſea-officers be worn out; for, except a little trade for tobacco, there is not a ſhip that ſails that way, and ſeeing the* Spaniards *may hang up the* Engliſh, *or put them to death by torments, as they do, and that the* Engliſh *dare not offend the* Spaniards *in theſe parts, a moſt notable advantage gotten in the concluſion of the peace! it is certain that the* Engliſh *will give over that navigation to the infinite advantage of the* Spaniſh *king, both preſent and future.* Experience ſhewed, that, though this was a plauſible, yet it was not a true deduction; for in conſequence of this peace, many plantations were ſettled, and our trade to *America* in particular, as well as our commerce in general, flouriſhed beyond the example of former times. Inſtead of objections, which are eaſily framed againſt the beſt meaſures by men of quick parts, and much political knowledge, it would have been more to the purpoſe to have ſhewn what advantages we were to reap from the continuance of the war, and how it might have been better ended at laſt, than by ſuch a peace as was now made.

But if this treaty gave ſome diſſatisfaction at home, it raiſed no leſs diſcontent abroad. The *Hollanders*, who were left to ſhift for themſelves, and who had reaped ſo great advantages from the favour of queen *Elizabeth*, were

were exceedingly exaſperated at a ſtep ſo much to their diſadvantage. But as they found themſelves ſtill ſtrong enough, not only to cope with the *Spaniards*, but alſo to make a greater figure than moſt nations at ſea, they loſt that reſpect which was due to the *Engliſh* flag, and began to aſſume to themſelves a kind of equality even in the narrow ſeas. This was quickly repreſented to the king as an indignity not to be borne, and thereupon he directed a fleet to be fitted out, the command of which was given to ſir *William Monſon*, with inſtructions to maintain the honour of the *Engliſh* flag, and that ſuperiority which was derived to him from his anceſtors in the *Britiſh* ſeas [r]. This fleet put to ſea in the ſpring of 1604, and was continued annually under the ſame admiral, who appears to have been a man of ſpirit and experience; for, as he tells us in his own memoirs, he ſerved in the firſt ſhip of war fitted out in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, and was an admiral in the laſt fleet ſhe ſent to ſea. Yet he found it a very difficult matter to execute his commiſſion; the *Dutch*, whenever he conferred with any of their chief officers, gave him fine language, and fair promiſes; but they minded them very little, taking our ſhips on very frivolous pretences, and treating thoſe they found on board them with great ſeverity, till ſuch time as it appeared the admiral would not bear ſuch uſage, and began to make repriſals, threatning to hang, as pyrates, people who ſhewed themſelves very little better in their actions. There were alſo high conteſts about the flag, which began through ſome accidental civilities paid to the *Hollanders*, in the late reign, when they ſailed under the command

[r] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 237.

mand of *English* admirals, upon joint expeditions, and were on that account treated as if they had been her majesty's subjects; which favours they now pretended to claim as prerogatives due to them in quality of an independant state *. We have no matters of very great importance to treat of in this reign, and therefore I think it will not be amiss to give the reader an account in Sir *William Monson*'s own words, of the spirit with which he insisted on satisfaction from the *Dutch* on this head, whereby the right of the *English* flag, which has been so much stood upon since, was established with regard to this republick; the rather because I know there are many who will scarce believe, that matters of this nature were carried so far, (perhaps as far as ever they were carried) under so pacific a prince.

"In my return from *Calais*, says sir *William*, the 1st "of *July* 1605, with the emperor's ambassador, as I ap- "proached near *Dover* road, I perceived an increase of "six ships to those I left there three days before, one of "them being the admiral; their coming in shew was to "beleaguer the *Spaniards*, who were then at *Dover*.

"As I drew near them the admiral struck his flag "thrice, and advanced it again. His coming from the "other coast, at such a time, caused me to make ano- "ther construction than he pretended; and indeed it so "fell out, for I conceived his arrival at that time was "for no other end than to shew the embassador, who he "knew would spread it abroad throughout all *Europe*, "as also the *Spaniards*, that they might have the less

"esteem

* See this matter stated in Selden's mare clausum. Molloy *de jure maritimo*, tit. flag.

" eſteem of his majeſty's prerogative in the narrow ſeas,
" that by their wearing their flag, they might be reputed
" kings of the ſea, as well as his majeſty. I haſtened
" the embaſſador aſhore, and diſpatched a gentleman to
" the admiral, to entreat his company the next day to
" dinner, which he willingly promiſed.

" THE gentleman told him, I required him to take
" in his flag, as a duty due to his majeſty's ſhips: he an-
" ſwered, that he had ſtruck it thrice, which he thought
" to be a ſufficient acknowledgment, and it was more,
" than former admirals of narrow ſeas had required at his
" hands.

" THE gentleman replyed, that he expected ſuch an
" anſwer from him, and therefore he was prepared what
" to ſay to that point. He told him, the times were al-
" tered; for when no more but ſtriking the flag was
" required, *England* and *Holland* were both of them in
" hoſtility with *Spain*, which cauſed her late majeſty to
" tolerate divers things in them; as for inſtance, the ad-
" miral's wearing his flag in the expedition to *Cadiz*,
" and the iſlands, where the lord admiral of *England* and
" the lord of *Eſſex* went as generals, and that courteſy they
" could not challenge by right, but by permiſſion; and the
" wars being now ceaſed, his majeſty did require by me, his
" miniſter, ſuch rights and duties as have formerly belonged
" to his progenitors.

" THE admiral refuſed to obey my command, ſaying,
" he expected more favour from me than from other ad-
" mirals, in reſpect of our long and loving acquaintance;
" but he was anſwered, that all obligation of private
" friendſhip muſt be laid aſide, when the honour of one's
" king and country is at ſtake. The gentleman adviſed

" him

" him in a friendly manner to yield to my demand; if " not, he had commiſſion to tell him, that I meant to " weigh anchor, and come near him, and that the force " of our ſhips ſhould determine the queſtion; for, rather " than I would ſuffer his flag to be worn in view of ſo " many nations as were to behold it, I reſolved to bury " myſelf in the ſea.

" THE admiral, it ſeems, upon better advice, took " in his flag, and ſtood immediately off to ſea, firing a " gun for the reſt of the fleet to follow him. And thus " I loſt my gueſt the next day, at dinner, as he had " promiſed.

" THIS paſſage betwixt the admiral and me, was ob- " ſerved from the ſhore, people beholding us to ſee the " event. Upon my landing, I met with *Sciriago*, the " general of the *Spaniards*, who, in the time of queen " *Elizabeth*, was employed under *Mendoza*, the embaſſador " of *Spain*. He told me, that if the *Hollanders* had worn " their flag, times had been ſtrangely altered in *England*, " ſince his old maſter king *Phillip* the ſecond, was ſhot at " by the lord admiral of *England*, for wearing his flag " in the narrow ſeas, when he came to marry queen " *Mary*."[t]

THESE diſputes continued for many years; and though, through the vigilance of admiral *Monſon*, the *Dutch* were defeated in all their pretenſions, and the prerogatives of the *Britiſh* ſovereignty at ſea, were throughly maintained; yet the republick of *Holland* ſtill kept up a ſpirit of reſentment, which broke out in ſuch acts of violence, as would not have been paſt by in the days of queen *Elizabeth*; yet our admiral does not ſeem to charge the king, or

[t] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 242, 243.

or his miniſtry in general, with want of inclination to do themſelves juſtice; but lays it expreſsly at the door of ſecretary *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Saliſbury*; who thought it; he ſays, good policy, to paſs by ſuch kind of offences *; but he does not report any reaſons upon which that kind of policy was grounded; yet it did not abſolutely, or conſtantly prevail, even in the councils of king *James*; for upon ſome ſurmiſes that foreigners took unreaſonable liberties in fiſhing in our ſeas, a proclamation was publiſhed in the year 1608, roundly aſſerting the King's ſovereignty in that point, and prohibiting all foreign nations to fiſh on the *Britiſh* coaſt; this, though general in appearance, had yet particular relation to the *Dutch*, who found themſelves ſo far affected thereby, eſpecially when the king appointed commiſſioners at *London*, for granting licences to ſuch foreigners as would fiſh on the *Engliſh* coaſt; and at *Edinburgh*, for granting licences of a like nature to ſuch as would fiſh in the northern ſea; and to theſe regulations, though with great reluctance, they ſubmitted for the preſent; the reaſon of which ſeems to be, their having then affairs of great moment to manage with the court of *Great-Britain* †. In theſe, notwithſtanding all that had paſſed, they ſucceeded, and two treaties were concluded on the 26th of *June*, 1608, between the crown of

* The reader may conſult the diſpatches of this great miniſter, in Winwood's memorials. The grand Point upon which the Hollanders ſtood, was our old treaties with the houſe of Burgundy, which, they ſaid, ſhould be obſerved towards them. The reaſon, probably, of Saliſbury's countenancing them, was this, that his father had adviſed queen Elizabeth to inſiſt on thoſe treaties as ſufficient to juſtify her aſſiſting the provinces, notwithſtanding her league with Spain. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, 244.

† Winwood's memorials. vol. ii. p. 358, 359.

of *Great-Britain*, and the *States-General*; the one of peace and alliance, the other for ſtating and ſettling the debt due to king *James*[x]. One would have imagined, that the advantages obtained by theſe treaties, ſhould have brought the republic to a better temper, in reſpect to other matters; but it did not, for within a ſhort time after, they diſputed paying the aſſize-herring in *Scotland*, and the licence-money in *England*; and to protect their ſubjects from the penalties which might attend ſuch a refuſal, they ſent ſhips of force to eſcort their herring-buſſes[y]. Theſe facts, as they are inconteſtable, I think myſelf obliged to relate, though without the leaſt prejudice againſt the *Dutch*, who are a people certainly to be commended for all ſuch inſtances of their public ſpirit, as appear to be conſiſtent with the right of their neighbours, and the law of nations[z].

But at this time of day, miniſters were too much afraid of parliaments to run the hazard of looſing any of the nations rights, for want of inſiſting upon them, and therefore they prevailed upon the king, to republiſh his proclamation, (which follows) that a parliament, whenever they met, might ſee they had done their duty, and adviſe the king thereupon as they ſhould think fit.

The Proclamation concerning Fiſhing.

WHEREAS, we have been contented, ſince our coming to the crown, to tolerate an indifferent and promiſcuous kind of liberty, to all our friends whatſoever,

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[x] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvi. p. 674. et ſequen. [y] Selden. Mare Clauſ. lib. ii. cap. 31. ex parliament. 4 Jac. 6. c. 60. et Parliament 6 ejuſd. c. 86. [z] The vouchers for theſe facts may all be found in the paper office.

ever, to fish within our streams, and upon any of our coasts of *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, and other adjacent islands, so far forth as the permission, or use thereof, might not redound to the impeachment of our prerogative royal, nor to the hurt and damage of our loving subjects, whose preservation and flourishing estate, we hold ourself principally bound to advance before all worldly respects: So finding, that our continuance therein, hath not only given occasion of over-great encroachments upon our regalities, or rather questioning for our right, but hath been a means of daily wrongs to our own people, that exercise the trade of fishing, as (either by the multitude of strangers, which do pre-occupy those places, or by the injuries which they receive most commonly at their hands) our subjects are constrained to abandon their fishing, or at least, are become so discouraged in the same, as they hold it better for them to betake themselves to some other course of living, whereby not only divers of our coast towns are much decayed, but the number of our mariners daily diminished, which is a matter of great consequence to our estate, considering how much the strength thereof consisteth in the power of shipping and use of navigation; we have thought it now both just and needful, in respect, that we are now, by God's favours, lineally and lawfully possessed, as well of the island of *Great Britain*, as of *Ireland*, and the rest of the isles adjacent; to bethink ourselves of good and lawful means, to prevent those inconveniencies, and many others depending on the same. In consideration whereof, as we are desirous that the world may take notice, that we have no intention to deny our neighbours and allies those fruits and benefits of peace and friendship, which may be justly expected at our hands, in

in honour and reason, or are afforded by other princes mutually in the point of commerce, and exchange of those things which may not prove prejudicial to them; so because some such convenient order may be taken in this matter, as may sufficiently provide for all those important considerations which depend thereupon; we have resolved, first, to give notice to all the world, that our express pleasure is, that, from the beginning of the month of *August* next coming, no person, of what nation or quality soever, being not our natural-born subject, be permitted to fish upon any of our coasts and seas of *Great-Britain*, *Ireland*, and the rest of the isles adjacent, where most usually heretofore any fishing hath been, until they have orderly demanded and obtained licences from us, or such our commissioners as we have authorized in that behalf, *viz.* at *London* for our realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and at *Edinburgh* for our realm of *Scotland*, which licences our intention is, shall be yearly demanded for so many vessels and ships, and the tonnage thereof, as shall intend to fish for that whole year, or any part thereof, upon any of our coasts and seas, as aforesaid, upon pain of such chastisement, as shall be fit to be inflicted upon such as are wilful offenders.

Given at our palace of *Westminster*, the 5th day of *May*, in the 7th year of our reign of *Great-Britain*, *Anno Dom.* 1609.

THERE were also some struggles in this reign with the *French*, about the same rights of fishery, and the sovereignty of the sea, in which, through the vigorous measures taken by sir *William Monson*, the nation prevailed, and the *French* were obliged to desist from their practises

of

of disturbing our fishermen, and otherwise injuring our navigation [a]. In 1614, the same admiral was sent to scour the *Scotch* and *Irish* seas, which were much infested with pyrates. We need not much wonder at this, if we consider, that 'till king *James*'s accession to the throne of *England*, there was little naval strength in his country, and that in *Ireland*, the *Spaniards*, by frequently practising this pyratical trade, during the war, had given the barbarous inhabitants such a relish of it, that they could not forsake it in time of peace: yet the noise their depredations made far exceeded the damage; for when on the first of *June*, sir *William Monson* made the coast of *Caithness*, the most northern part of *Scotland*, he found that, instead of twenty pyrates he expected to have heard of cruising in those parts, there were in fact but two, one of which immediately surrendered, and the other was afterwards taken by the admiral on the coast of *Ireland*, where, by a proper mixture of clemency and severity, he extirpated these rovers, and reclaimed the inhabitants of the sea-coast from their scandalous way of living, by affording shelter and protection to pyrates, furnishing them with provisions, and taking their plunder in exchange. This service Sir *William* performed in three months [b].

In 1617, sir *Walter Raleigh* was released from his imprisonment in the *Tower*, and had a commission from the king, to discover and take possession of any countries in the south of *America*, which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce, and the propagation of religion [c]; in the undertaking which expedition, his ex-

[a] Stowe's annals. Sir William Monson's naval tracts, p. 245.
[b] Ibid. p. 247, 251. [c] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 89.

pences were borne by himſelf, his friends, and ſuch merchants as entertained a good opinion of the voyage. His deſign has been variouſly repreſented, and I ſhall be at liberty to examine it hereafter, more at large in its proper place. At preſent, I am to ſpeak of it only as a public concern, in which light it was juſtifiable beyond all queſtion, notwithſtanding the out-cries that were made againſt it by the *Spaniards*. It is indeed, pretty evident, that the complaints of their miniſter *Don Diego Sarmiento d'Acuna*, ſo well known afterwards by the title of *Count Gondomar*, were not ſo much grounded on any notions he himſelf had of the injuſtice of this deſign, as on a piece of *Spaniſh* policy, by raiſing a clamour on falſe pretences, to diſcover the true ſcope and intent of ſir *Walter*'s voyage. In this he was but too ſucceſsful; for, upon his repreſentations, that excellent perſon was obliged to give a diſtinct account, as well of his preparations for executing, as of the deſign he was to execute: and this (by what means is not clear) was communicated to the *Spaniards*, who thereby gained an opportunity, firſt of diſappointing him in *America*, and then of taking off his head upon his return, to the laſting diſhonour of this reign, as well as the great detriment of the nation; for without all doubt, this project of ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s for ſettling in *Guiana*, was not only well contrived, but well founded; and, if it had been followed, might have been as beneficial to *Britain*, as *Brazil* is to *Portugal*[a].

THE diſputes with the ſtates of *Holland*, in reference to the right of fiſhing, broke out again, in the year 1618, from the old cauſes, which were plainly a very high preſumption

[a] See the life of ſir Walter Raleigh, by mr. Oldys, p. 96.

ſumption of their own maritime force, and an opinion they had entertained, of the king's being much addicted to peace. It is not at all impoſſible, that they had a great opinion likewiſe of their miniſter's capacity, and that ſooner or later, if they could but keep up a long negotiation, they might either prevail upon the king to drop his pretenſions, or repeat their own ill founded excuſes ſo often, till they gained credit. At this time, thoſe who hated the *Engliſh* miniſtry, treated theſe differences with that republick, as rather criminal, than honourable; but the ſame men living long enough to get the ſupreme power into their own hands, in the time of the long parliament, cauſed the letters of ſtate written at that juncture, to be drawn out of duſt and rubbiſh, and made them the foundation of that quarrel, which they proſecuted with force of arms. It is to be hoped, that no occaſion of the like nature, will ever happen; but nevertheleſs, as thoſe letters are very curious, and much to the purpoſe, a few extracts from them, cannot but be acceptable, and may be uſeful.

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *from ſecretary* Naunton, *to ſir* Dudley Carleton, *embaſſador to the* States-General, *dated the 21ſt of* December 1618.

"I Muſt now let your Lordſhip know, that the *States* "commiſſioners and deputies, both, having attended his "majeſty at *Newmarket*, and there preſented their let-"ters of credence, returned to *London* on *Saturday* was ſe-"vennight, and, upon *Tueſday*, had audience in the coun-"cil chamber, where being required to communicate the "points of their commiſſion, they delivered their medita-"ted anſwer at length. The lords, upon peruſal of it, "appointed my lord *Bining* and me, to attend his majeſty

" for directions, what reply to return to this anſwer of
" theirs, which we repreſented to their lordſhips yeſterday to
" this effect; that his majeſty found it ſtrange, that they
" having been ſo often required by your lordſhip, his ma-
" jeſty's ambaſſador, as from himſelf in their public aſ-
" ſemblies, to ſend over commiſſioners fully authorized to
" treat and conclude, not only of all differences grown
" between the ſubjects of both ſtates, touching the trade
" to the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the whale-fiſhing, and to regu-
" late and ſettle, a joint and an even traffick in thoſe quar-
" ters; but withal, to take order for a more indifferent
" courſe of determining other queſtions, growing between
" our merchants and them, about their draperies and the
" tare; and more eſpecially, to determine his majeſty's
" right for the ſole fiſhing, upon all the coaſts of his three
" kingdoms, into which they had of late times incroached
" farther than of right they could; and laſtly, for the re-
" glement and reducing of their coins, to ſuch a propor-
" tion and correſpondence, with thoſe of his majeſty, and
" other ſtates, that their ſubjects might make no advan-
" tage to tranſport our monies by inhancing their valua-
" tion there. All which they confeſſed, your lordſhip
" had inſtanced them for in his majeſty's name, that after
" all this attent on his majeſty's part, and ſo long delib-
" ration on theirs, they were come at laſt with a propoſi-
" tion, to ſpeak only to the two firſt points, and inſtruct-
" ed thereunto with bare letters of credence only, which
" his majeſty takes for an imperious faſhion of proceeding
" in them, as if they were come hither to treat of what
" themſelves pleaſed, and to give law to his majeſty in his
" own kingdom, and to propoſe, and admit of nothing,
" but what ſhould tend merely to their own ends."

" To the ſecond, whereas they would decline all debate " of the fiſhing upon his majeſty's coaſts firſt, by allega- " tions of their late great loſſes, and the fear of an eſmeute " of their people, who are all intereſted in that queſtion, " and would belike break out into ſome combuſtion to the " hazard of their ſtate, which hath lately ſcaped naufrage, " and is not yet altogether calmed. What is this, but to " raiſe an advantage to themſelves, out of their diſadvan- " tage? But afterwards, they profeſſed their lothneſs to call " it into doubt, or queſtion, claiming an immemorial poſſeſ- " ſion, ſeconded by the law of nations; to which his ma- " jeſty will have them told, that the kings of *Spain* have " ſought leave to fiſh there by treaty from this crown, " and that the king of *France*, a nearer neighbour to our " coaſts than they, to this day requeſts leave for a few veſ- " ſels to fiſh for proviſion of his own houſhold; that they " being a ſtate of ſo late date, ſhould be the firſt that " would preſume to queſtion his majeſty's ancient right ſo " many hundred years inviolably poſſeſſed by his progeni- " tors, and acknowledged by all other ancient ſtates and " princes. That themſelves, in their public letters of " the laſt of *June*, ſent by your lordſhip, ſeemed then to " confirm their immemorial poſſeſſion, as they term it, " with divers treaties as are that of the year 1550, and ano- " ther between his majeſty's predeceſſors and *Charles* the " fifth, as prince of thoſe provinces, and not by the law " of nations. To which, their laſt plea, his majeſty " would have them told, that he being an iſlander prince, " is not ignorant of the laws and rights of his own king- " doms, nor doth expect to be taught the law of nations " by them, or their *Grotius*, whoſe ill thriving, might " rather teach others to diſavow his poſitions; and his ma-

" neſty called in queſtion by themſelves, might render his " learning as much ſuſpected to them as his perſon. This " his majeſty takes for an high point of his ſovereignty, " and will not have it ſlighted over, in any faſhion what- " ſoever.

" THUS I have particulated unto you, the manner of " our proceeding with them. Let them adviſe to ſeek " leave from his majeſty, and acknowledge in him his right, " as other princes have done, and do, or it may well come " to paſs, that they that will needs bear all the world be- " fore them, by their *Mare Liberum*, may ſoon come to " have, neither *Terram & Solum*, nor *Rempublicam Li-* " *beram.*"

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *of the ſaid ambaſſador, to ſe-* *cretary* Naunton, *dated at the* Hague, 30*th of Decem-* *ber*, 1618.

" WHether the final reſolution here, will be accord- " ing to his majeſty's deſire, in that point, con- " cerning the fiſhing upon the coaſts of his three king- " doms, I cannot ſay; and by ſomewhat which fell from " the prince of *Orange*, by way of diſcourſe, when he " took leave of me, on *Monday* laſt, at his departure, I " ſuſpect it will not, in regard the magiſtrates of theſe " towns of *Holland*, being newly placed, and yet ſcarce " faſt in their ſeats, who do authorize the deputies, which " come hither to the aſſembly of the ſtates, in all things " they are to treat and reſolve, will not adventure, for " fear of the people, to determine of a buſineſs on which " the livelihood of fifty thouſand of the inhabitants of this " one ſingle province doth depend. I told the prince, that " howſoever his majeſty, both in honour of his crown

" and

" and perſon, and intereſt of his kindoms, neither could,
" nor would any longer deſiſt, from having his right ac-
" knowledged by this ſtate, as well as by all other princes
" and commonwealths, eſpecially finding the ſame open-
" oppugned, both by their ſtatesmen and men of war, as
" the writings of *Grotius*, and the taking of *John Brown*
" the laſt year, may teſtify; yet this acknowledgment of
" a right, and a due, was no excluſion of grace and fa-
" vour, and that the people of this country, paying that
" ſmall tribute upon every one of their buſſes, which is
" not ſo much as diſputed by any other nation whatſoever.
" Such was his majeſty's well-wiſhing to this ſtate, that I
" preſumed of his permiſſion, to ſuffer them to continue their
" courſe of fiſhing, which they might uſe thereby with
" more freedom and leſs apprehenſion of moleſtation and
" let than before, and likewiſe ſpare the coſt of ſome of
" their men of war, which they yearly ſend out to main-
" tain that by force, which they may have of courteſy.
" The prince anſwered, that for himſelf, at his return
" from *Utrecht*, he would do his beſt endeavours, to pro-
" cure his majeſty's contentment; but he doubted the *Hol-*
" *landers* would apprehend the ſame effect in their pay-
" ment for fiſhing, as they found in the paſſage of the
" *Sound*, where, at firſt, an eaſy matter was demanded
" by the king of *Denmark*, but now more exacted than
" they can poſſibly bear: and touching their men of war,
" he ſaid, they muſt ſtill be at the ſame charge with them,
" becauſe of the pyrates. Withal, he caſt out a queſtion
" to me, whether this freedom of fiſhing, might not be
" redeemed with a ſum of money. To which I anſwer-
" ed,

"ed, it was a matter of royalty more than of utility, "tho' princes were not to neglect their profit *."

EXTRACT *of a* LETTER *from secretary* Naunton, *to the lord ambassador* Carleton, *dated the 21st of* January, 1618.

"AS I had dictated thus far, I received direction from "his majesty, to signify to the states commissioners "here, that albeit their earnest intreaty, and his gracious "consideration of the present trouble of their church and "state, had moved his majesty to consent to delay the "treaty of the great fishing, till the time craved by the "commissioners; yet understanding by new and fresh "complaints of his mariners and fishers, upon the coasts "of *Scotland*, that within these four or five last years, the "*Lato-Country* fishers have taken so great advantages of "his majesty's toleration, that they have grown nearer "and nearer upon his majesty's coasts year by year, than "they did in preceding times, without leaving any bounds "for

* Yet, that we may perceive, whenever our court proceeded with due spirit, it had its effect, and brought even these subtile negotiators to make concessions, which, in reality, destroyed all their pretensions at other times, will appear, from an EXTRACT of a LETTER dated *January* the 14th, 1618, from the same ambassador to secretary *Naunton*, in which he gives him to understand, "that having been expostulated with, but in a friendly "manner, by certain of the states, about his late proposition, as "unseasonable, and sharp; they said, they acknowledged their "commissioners went beyond their limits, in their terms of immemorial possession, immutable *droit de gens*, for which they "had no order, that he then desired them, to consider what a "wrong it was, to challenge that upon right, which those provinces had hitherto enjoied, either by connivance or courtesy, "and yet never without claim on his majesty's side."

" for the country people and natives to fish upon their prince's
" coasts, and oppressed some of his subjects of intent to
" continue their pretended possession, and driven some of
" their great vessels through their nets, to deter others by
" fear of the like violence from fishing near them, &c.
" His majesty cannot forbear to tell them, that he is so
" well persuaded of the equity of the states, and of the
" honourable respect they bear unto him, and to his sub-
" jects for his sake, that they will never allow so unjust
" and intollerable oppressions; for restraint whereof, and
" to prevent the inconveniencies which must ensue upon
" the continuance of the same, his majesty hath by me
" desired them to write to their superiors, to cause pro-
" clamation to be made, prohibiting any of their subjects
" to fish within fourteen miles of his majesty's coasts this
" year, or in any time hereafter, until orders be taken
" by commissioners to be authorized on both sides, for a
" final settling of the main business. His majesty hath
" likewise directed me to command you from him to
" make the like declaration and instance to the states
" there, and to certify his majesty of their answers with
" what convenient speed you may."

WHAT effect the ambassadors negotiation had with the states, appears by a letter of his from the *Hague* of the 6th of *February* 1618, to king *James* himself.

" I find likewise in the manner of proceeding, that
" treating by way of proposition here, nothing can be
" expected but their wonted dilatory and evasive answers,
" their manner being to refer such propositions from
" the *States-General* to the states of *Holland*. The states
" of *Holland* take advice of a certain council residing at
" *Delft*,

the

" *Delft*, which they call the council of the fishery, from " them such an answer commonly comes as may be ex- " pected from such an oracle. The way therefore (un- " der correction) to effect your majesty's intent, is to " begin with fishers themselves, by publishing against the " time of their going out, your resolution at what di- " stance your will permit them to fish, whereby they will " be forced to have recourse to their council of fishery, " that council to the states of *Holland*; and those of *Hol-* " *land* to the *States-General*, who then in place of being " sought unto, will for contentment of their subjects seek " unto your majesty."

THESE letters make it perfectly clear, that king *James* asserted his rights through the long course of this negotiation, as clearly and as explicitly as it was possible, and brought the states themselves to acknowledge, that these rights had a just foundation. If it should be enquired how it came to pass, that after carrying things so far, and to such a seeming height, they should fall again into silence and oblivion; the best answer that can be given to this question is, that in the midst of this dispute, the prince of *Orange* asked sir *Dudley Carleton* a very shrewd question, *viz.* whether this claim about the fishery might not be quieted for a sum of money? That gentleman, who was afterwards created viscount *Dorchester*, was certainly a man of honour, as fully appears from the advice given in the last letter we have cited; but whether some men in power might not find a method by agents of their own, to convey an answer to so plain a demand, is more than at this distance of time can be determined. Sir *William Monson* tells us, that in reference to the disputes about

the

the flag, the *Dutch* found a kind of protector in the great earl of *Salisbury*; nor is it at all impossible, that they might find an advocate in this important business of the fishery; but if they did, this must have been a ministerial and not a national bargain, since we shall find that in the next reign, this claim was insisted upon as warmly, and with some better effect, than in that of king *James*.

It may not be amiss however to observe here, that by whatever means things were settled and quieted at that time, it could never affect the claim of right by the crown of *Great-Britain*; for as sir *Dudley Carleton* very wisely returned for answer to the question before-mentioned, that it was a royalty, so beyond all doubt, those ancient and immemorial prerogatives of the crown are unalienable; and tho' treaties may be made for explaining, regulating, and adjusting them with our neighbours, yet this must be always understood as done with a view to the maintaining them; these rights belonging to the crown and not to the king, who tho' bound by the duty of his office to support and vindicate them, yet is at the same time restrained by that duty from alienating them; and therefore whatever tolerations, connivances, or forbearances there may be in particular reigns, or from particular circumstances, these can never be urged in prejudice to the inherent rights of the crown, which always subsist, tho' they may not always be insisted upon. This doctrine the reader has before seen, was particularly urged and applied by sir *William Monson* in the case of the flag, when the *Dutch* were desirous of availing themselves of queen *Elizabeth*'s waving her right in a case where indeed it could not well be insisted upon, that is, where a *Dutch* squadron

dron ſerved as auxiliaries, in a fleet commanded by an *Engliſh* admiral, and conſequently for that time, were treated as *Engliſh* ſubjects.

WE come now to the only naval expedition of conſequence, which was undertaken during the time this king ſat upon the throne, I mean the attempt upon *Algiers*. What the real grounds were of this romantic undertaking, ſeems not eaſy to be diſcovered. The common ſtory is, that count *Gondemar*, having gained an aſcendancy over his majeſty's underſtanding, perſuaded him, contrary to his natural inclination, which ſeldom permitted him to act vigorouſly againſt his own enemies, to fit out a formidable fleet, in order to humble the foes of the king of *Spain* *. But we have it from other hands, that this was a project of much older ſtanding, that the earl of *Nottingham* had ſollicited the king to ſuch an expedition, before he laid down his charge of lord high admiral; and that ſir *Robert Manſel* infuſed it into the head of his ſucceſſor *Buckingham*, that it would give a great reputation to his management of naval affairs, if ſuch a thing was entered upon in the dawn of his adminiſtration. As *Buckingham* eaſily brought the king to conſent to whatever himſelf approved, there is the utmoſt probability that it was by his influence this deſign was carried into execution; notwithſtanding that, ſir *William Monſon*, who had been conſulted upon it, gave his judgment, ſupported by ſtrong and clear arguments, that it was raſh and ill founded, and that inſtead of raiſing the reputation of the *Britiſh* arms, it would only contribute to render them ridiculous, becauſe the whole world would take notice of the

* Camden, Wilſon, Rapin, Burchet.

the diſappointment, whereas only a few could judge of its real cauſes; and of the little reaſon there was to meaſure the naval ſtrength of *Britain* thereby [1].

In the month of *October* 1620, this fleet ſailed from *Plymouth*. It conſiſted of ſix men of war, and twelve ſtout ſhips hired from the merchants. Of theſe ſir *Robert Manſel*, then vice-admiral of *England*, had the command in chief, ſir *Richard Hawkins* was vice, and ſir *Thomas Button* rear-admiral, ſir *Henry Palmer*, *Arthur Manwaring*, *Thomas Love* and *Samuel Argall*, Eſqrs; were appointed to be members of the council of war, and *Edward Clarke*, Eſq; was ſecretary. On the twenty-ſeventh of *November*, they came to an anchor in *Algier* road, and ſaluted the town, but without receiving a ſingle gun in anſwer. On the twenty-eighth, the admiral ſent a gentleman with a white flag to let the *Turkiſh* vice-roy know the cauſe of his coming, who returned him an anſwer by four commiſſioners, that he had orders from the *Grand Seignior* to uſe the *Engliſh* with the utmoſt reſpect, to ſuffer their men to come on ſhore, and to furniſh them with what proviſions they wanted. Upon this, a negotiation enſued, in which it is hard to ſay, whether the *Turks* or the admiral acted with greater chicanery. The former refuſed to diſmiſs the gentleman firſt ſent, unleſs an *Engliſh* conſul was left at *Algiers*, and the latter, to rid himſelf of this difficulty, prevailed upon a ſeaman to put on a ſuit of good cloaths, and to paſs for a conſul; this cheat not being diſcovered by the *Turks*, they ſent forty *Engliſh* ſlaves on board the admiral, and promiſed to give him ſatisfaction as to his other demands; upon

[1] Naval Tracts, p. 253.

upon which, he ſailed again for the *Spaniſh* coaſt, attended by ſix *French* men of war, the admiral of which ſquadron had ſtruck to the *Engliſh* fleet on his firſt joining it; which ſeems to have been the greateſt honour, and perhaps the greateſt advantage too that attended this whole expedition [a].

It had been well if this enterprize had ended thus; but after receiving a ſupply of proviſions from *England*, it was reſolved to make another attempt upon *Algiers* in the ſpring, and, if poſſible, to burn the ſhips in the mole [b]. Accordingly in the month of *May* the fleet left the coaſt of *Majorca*, and upon the twenty-firſt of the ſame month, anchored before *Algiers*, and began to prepare for the execution of this deſign. Two ſhips taken from the *Turks*, one of an hundred, the other of ſixty tons, were fitted up for this purpoſe. They were filled with dry wood, oakam, pitch, roſin, tar, brimſtone, and other combuſtible matter, and provided with chains, grappling-irons, and boats to bring off the men; next followed the three brigantines, which the admiral bought at *Alicant*, with fire-balls, buckets of wild-fire, and fire-pikes to faſten their fire-works to the enemy's ſhips. They had alſo a gunlod, fitted up with fire-works, chains, and grappling irons; the gunlod was to be fired in the midſt of the ſhips in the mole, having likewiſe a boat to bring off her men. Seven armed boats followed to ſuſtain thoſe of the fire-ſhips, in caſe they were purſued

[a] Purchas's Pilgrim, p. 881. See alſo an account of this expedition, publiſhed by authority in 1621. [b] See the relation of this expedition before referred to, which is almoſt the only authentic account we have of it; and yet it is an account only on one ſide, and was certainly written to juſtify the undertaking.

fused at their coming off. These were likewise furnished with fire-works to destroy the ships without the mole.

The wind not being favourable, the attempt was put off till the twenty-fourth, and blowing then at S. S. W. the ships advanced with a brisk gale towards the mole; but when they were within less than a musket-shot of the mole's head, the wind died away, and it grew so calm they could not enter. However, the boats and brigantines finding they were discovered, by the brightness of the moon, which was then at full, and being informed by a christian slave, who swam from the town, that the *Turks* had left their ships unguarded, with only a man or two in each of them, they resolved to proceed; which they did, but performed little or nothing, and then retired with the loss of six men. After a day or two's stay they put to sea, and in the month of *June* returned to *England*. This ill-concerted enterprize had no other effect, than that of exposing our own commerce to the insults of the *Algerines*, who did a great deal of mischief, while we did them little or none; though two other fleets were afterwards sent against them, one under the command of the lord *Willoughby*, and the other under that of the earl of *Denbigh*; but both did so little, that very few of our histories take any notice of them[i]. Sir *William Monson* has made some severe but just observations[k] upon these

[i] In the continuation of Stowe's chronicle by Howes, there is not a word of it, and in many other books of the same kind, we are barely told when this fleet sailed, and when it came back.

[k] There are three discourses of his upon this subject, one addressed to the privy-council on the properest method for attempting the ruin of Algiers; another dissuading from that enterprize; and the third on the mistakes in this expedition, wherein he observes, that, during all the time they were out, they were but twenty days at sea.

these undertakings, and particularly remarks, that notwithstanding the whole nation was grievously offended, as they will always be at such miscarriages, yet they never had any satisfaction given them; which irritated them exceedingly, and contributed not a little to raise that spirit which vented itself afterwards in a civil war.

In 1623, happened the bloody affair of *Amboyna*, of which I shall give a short and fair account; because it gave birth to our national hatred of the *Dutch*, which subsisted long, and had such fatal effects. By a treaty concluded between *Great-Britain* and the *United provinces* in 1619, it was stipulated amongst other things, that, to prevent farther disputes, the *Dutch* should enjoy two thirds of the trade at *Amboyna*, and the *English* one. In pursuance of this, a factory was erected in that island as well as other places; yet in the short space of two years, the *Dutch* grew weary of their company, and, under a pretence of a plot, seized the principal persons in the factory, tortured them, and having extorted from them some confessions, put as many of them as they thought fit to death, and under a shew of clemency discharged the rest, seizing, however, not only on this, but all the other factories likewise, which at that time the *English* had in the *Spice-Islands*, and thereby engrossing that most valuable trade to themselves. That this was really a contrivance, seems to be pretty plain, not to make use of a stronger word, from the following circumstances which are incontestable. The *English* had only a house wherein their factory resided; whereas the *Dutch* were possessed of a very strong fort, the number of the former did not exceed twenty, the latter had above two hundred garrisoned soldiers in the castle, and eight stout ships riding in the port.

The

The priſoners all denied it ſolemnly at their deaths, and would have taken the ſacrament on the truth of what they ſaid; but it was refuſed them by the *Dutch* [l]. But that I may not be ſuſpected of injuſtice towards them, I will tranſcribe their own account of this matter. "This iſland ſays a writer, who addreſſed his work to the ſtates of *Holland* [m], was a long time the ſubject of diſpute between the *Dutch* and *Engliſh*. The *Eaſt-India* company, who had made themſelves maſters of it, entered into a treaty with the *Engliſh*, for driving out the *Portugueſe* and *Spaniards*; and by one of the articles of this treaty it was agreed, that they ſhould furniſh ten men of war for this purpoſe. They neglecting this armament, the *Indians* of *Ternate*, taking advantage of the weakneſs which this omiſſion of theirs had occaſioned, agreed to a ſuſpenſion of arms with the *Spaniards*, and having made an alliance with the king of *Tidore*, who was an enemy to the *Dutch*, attacked ſeveral iſlands dependant on *Amboyna*, and having made themſelves maſters of them, reſolved to attack the citadel; and the *Engliſh* are ſaid to have been concerned with them in this deſign, which was diſcovered by a *Japoneſe*. The governor heard from all ſides, that the *Engliſh* had taken his citadel. Aſtoniſhed at theſe reports, though falſe, he put himſelf on his guard, and ſeized the *Japoneſe*, whom he ſuſpected. This man confeſſed, that the *Engliſh* were engaged in a conſpiracy againſt the governor, that taking advantage of his abſence, the citadel was to be ſeized, and that the *Japoneſe*

[l] See a pamphlet entitled, "A true relation of the unjuſt, "cruel, and barbarous proceedings againſt the Engliſh at Amboy-"na, publiſhed by authority 1624, 4to," and ſeveral other tracts.

[m] M. Baſnage in his annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 129.

in the iſland had engaged to execute this project. The governor without heſitation arreſted all who were accuſed of having any hand in this deſign. The *Engliſh* confeſſed, that their factor had ſworn them upon the goſpel never to reveal the ſecret; which, however, they did, and ſigned their confeſſions, ſome freely, and the reſt conſtrained thereto by the violence of the torture. They were all executed; and this is what is commonly called the maſſacre of *Amboyna*. The *Engliſh* have always maintained, that this crime was purely imaginary, and only made uſe of a pretext to ſacrifice their nation to the vengeance of a governor; and therefore they continued to demand ſatisfaction for this loſs from 1623 to 1672, when, through the indifferent ſtate of their affairs, they were glad to depart from it." This *Dutch* account, and indeed all the accounts I have ever ſeen of their drawing up, ſufficiently prove, that there was more of policy, than of any thing elſe in this whole proceeding, and that what the *Dutch* aimed at, was the excluding us from the ſpice-trade, in which they effectually prevailed.

It is indeed ſtrange, that, conſidering the ſtrength of the nation at ſea at the time we received this inſult, and the quick ſenſe which the *Engliſh* always have of any national affront, no proper ſatisfaction was obtained, nor any vigorous meaſures entered into, in order to exact it. But the wonder will in a great meaſure ceaſe, when we conſider the ſtate of the crown, and of the people, at that period. The king had been engaged for many years in a tedious, diſhonourable and diſtaſteful negotiation for the marriage of his ſon prince *Charles* with the princeſs of *Spain*; to the chimerical advantages he propoſed from this, he ſacrificed the intereſt of his family, the glory of his government, and the affections of his people; and yet could

could never bring the thing to bear, but was at laſt forced to break off the treaty abruptly, and to think of entering upon a war, to which he had been always averſe, eſpecially at the cloſe of his life and reign. Such was the ſituation of things when this accident happened at *Amboyna*; and therefore, though it made a great noiſe, and occaſioned much expoſtulation with that republic, yet the attention of the crown to the propoſed war with *Spain*, and its concern for the recovery of the *Palatinate*, joined to the neceſſity there was of managing the *Dutch* at ſo critical a juncture, hindered our proceeding any farther than remonſtrances, while our competitors kept excluſively ſo very conſiderable a branch of trade. I have taken the more pains to ſettle and clear up this matter, becauſe it is a full proof of a truth we ought never to forget, *viz.* that domeſtic diſſentions are particularly fatal to us as a trading nation, and that it is impoſſible for us to maintain our commerce in a flouriſhing condition, if we do not at leaſt enjoy peace at home, whatever our circumſtances may be abroad.

I KNOW of nothing relating to naval affairs in this reign of which I have not already ſpoken, except the ſending a fleet to bring home prince *Charles* from *Spain*, may be reckon'd in that number. It conſiſted, however, of a few ſhips only; but in good order and well manned, ſo that the *Spaniards* are ſaid to have expreſſed great ſatisfaction at the ſight of it; which, however, true or falſe, is a matter of no great conſequence. This voyage, though a ſhort one, gave prince *Charles* ſome idea of maritime affairs, which proved afterwards of benefit to the nation. The breaking the *Spaniſh* match made way for a war with that kingdom, much to the ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*; but in the midſt of the preparations that were

making for it, the king ended his days at *Theobald's* on the 27*th* of *March* 1625, in the 59*th* year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign [n]. His pacific temper occaſioned our having but little to ſay in this part of our work; but before we proceed to mention the eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed in his time, it will be proper to give the reader a conciſe view of the improvement of trade and navigation within this period, as well as a brief account of the colonies ſettled, while this prince ſet upon the throne.

IT has been already ſhewn, that under the public-ſpirited adminiſtration of queen *Elizabeth*, this nation firſt came to have a notion of the benefits of extenſive commerce, and began to think of managing their own trade themſelves, which down to that period had been almoſt entirely in the hands of foreigners. So long as the war continued with *Spain*, our merchants went on in a right way; by which I mean, that they proſecuted their private advantage in ſuch a manner, as that it proved likewiſe of public utility, by increaſing the number of ſeamen, and of ſtout ſhips belonging to this kingdom: but after king *James's* acceſſion, and the taking place of that peace, which they had ſo long and earneſtly expected, things took a new and ſtrange turn. Our traders ſaw the manifeſt advantage of uſing large and ſtout ſhips; but inſtead of building them, were content to freight thoſe of their neighbours, becauſe a little money was to be ſaved by this method. In conſequence of this notion, our ſhipping decayed in proportion as our trade encreaſed; 'till in the year

[n] Wilſon's hiſtory of the reign of king James I. Stowe's chronicle continued by Howes, Baker's chronicle, Echard, Rapin.

year 1615, things were come to ſo ſtrange a paſs, that there were not ten ſhips of 200 tons belonging to the port of *London*. Upon this, the *Trinity-houſe* petitioned the king, ſetting forth the matter of fact, and the dreadful conſequences it would have with reſpect to our naval power, through the decay of ſeamen, and praying, that the king would put in execution ſome good old laws, which were calculated for the redreſs of this evil; ſuggeſting alſo the example of the ſtate of *Venice*, who on a like occaſion, had prohibited their ſubjects to tranſport any goods in foreign bottoms. The merchants unanimouſly oppoſed the mariners in this diſpute, and having better intereſt at court prevailed. Yet, in a year's time, the tables were turned, and the merchants convinced of their own miſtake, joined with the mariners in a like application. An accident produced this happy effect. Two ſhips, each of the burden of three hundred tons, came into the river of *Thames*, laden with currants and cotton, the property of ſome *Dutch* merchants reſiding here. This immediately opened the eyes of all our traders: they ſaw now, that, through their own error, they were come back to the very point from which they ſet out, and that if ſome bold and effectual remedy was not immediately applied, our commerce would be driven again by foreigners on foreign bottoms. They inſtantly drew up a repreſentation of this, and laid it before the king and his council; upon which a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding any *Engliſh* ſubject to export or import goods in any but *Engliſh* bottoms *.

* Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, I. 328.

WHEN once people have entered into a courſe of induſtry, the benefits accruing from it, will generally keep them in that road, and even the difficulties they meet with, turn to their advantage. Thus after the *Engliſh* merchants had built a few large ſhips in their own ports, and furniſhed them with artillery, and other neceſſaries, they found themſelves in a condition to launch into many trades, that were unthought of before; and though for ſome time they ſuffered not a little by the *Algerines*, and other pyrates of *Barbary*, yet in the end, they got more than they loſt by theſe accidents, for it put them upon building ſtill larger ſhips, as well as taking more care in providing, and manning ſmall ones; which had ſuch an effect in the ſpace of ſeven years, that whereas ſhips of a hundred tons had been before eſteemed very large veſſels, and were generally built and brought from beyond the ſeas; now there were many merchant-men of three, four, and five hundred tons belonging to ſeveral ports, and upwards of a hundred veſſels, each of above two hundred tons burthen, belonging to *Newcaſtle* alone, all built at home, and better built than elſewhere; and before the death of king *James*, our trade was ſo far increaſed, that, in the opinion of ſir *William Monſon*, we were little, if at all inferior in maritime force to the *Dutch* [p].

IN reſpect to the encouragements given by the crown, for promoting commerce and plantations in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *America*, they were as great under this reign, as under

[p] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 329, 350. Stowe's annals, p. 994. and the ſame facts, are alſo to be met with, in ſeveral of the treatiſes on commerce, which will be hereafter mentioned.

der any ſucceeding one. Several voyages were made on account of the *Eaſt-India* company, and the king did not ſpare ſending an ambaſſador into thoſe parts for their ſervice. *Virginia* and *New-England* were in a great meaſure planted, *Barbadoes* poſſeſſed and ſettled, and *Bermudas* diſcovered in his time [q]. I do not know whether the attemps made for fixing colonies in *Newfoundland*, and *Acadia*, or *New-Scotland*, deſerve any commendation, becauſe as they were managed at that time, they could turn to little account; yet it muſt be allowed, that the government meant well by the encouragement given to theſe undertakings, which went ſo far as directing propoſals for ſettling *Newfoundland*, to be read in churches, that all who had any mind to be concerned in ſuch attempts might have due notice [r]. Some benefits certainly accrued even from theſe abortive projects, they occaſioned building a great many good ſhips, increaſed the *Newfoundland* fiſhery, added to the number of our ſailors, and kept alive that ſpirit of diſcovering, which is eſſential to a beneficial commerce, ſince, whenever a nation comes to think it has trade enough, that trade will quickly decline. Beſides, it engaged abundance of knowing and experienced perſons to write upon all branches of traffick; and their books, which yet remain, ſufficiently prove, that there were numbers in thoſe days, who thoroughly un-

[q] See a declaration of the ſtate of the colony in Virginia, by his majeſty's council for Virginia, London, 1620, 4to. Captain Smith's general hiſtory of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer-Iſlands, London, 1627. fol. Purchas's pilgrims and pilgrimage. [r] Order of the king in council at Theobald's, April 12th, 1622, printed with other things, and directed to be read in churches, London, 1622, 4to.

derſtood all the arts neceſſary to promote manufactures, navigation, and uſeful commerce [t].

As to the navy which was more particularly the care of the crown, we find that it frequently engaged the attention of the king himſelf, as well as of his miniſters. In moſt of our naval hiſtories, we have a liſt of nine ſhips added to the royal navy of *England* by this prince, which liſt is taken from ſir *William Monſon*, and ſtands thus [u].

SHIPS.	Men in harbour.	Men at Sea.
Reformation.	9	250
Happy Entrance.	7	160
Garland.	7	160
St. George.	9	250
Mary Roſe.	6	120
Triumph.	12	300
Swiftſure.	9	250
Bonaventure.	7	160
St. Andrew.	9	250

But

[t] Such as, An eſſay of the means, to make travel uſeful profitable and honourable, by Thomas Palmer, London, 1606, 4to. Virginia richly valued, by Richard Hakluyt, London, 1609, 4to. The planter's plea, or the grounds of plantations examined, and objections anſwered, London, 1620, 4to. A diſcourſe on the trade to the Eaſt-Indies, by Thomas Mun. The maintainance of free trade, by George Malynes, merchant, London, 1622, 8vo. The centre of the circle of commerce, by the ſame hand, London, 1623, 4to. [u] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 277. Lediard's naval hiſtory, p. 475.

BUT that this list is very defective, we may conclude from hence, that there is no mention therein of the greatest ship built in this king's reign, and built too by his express direction; of which we have so exact, and at the same so authentic an account, that it may not be amiss to transcribe it.

"THIS year 1610, the king built a most goodly ship "for war, the keel whereof was 114 feet long, and "the cross beam was 44 feet in length: she will carry "64 pieces of great ordinance, and is of the burthen of "1400 tons. This royal ship is double-built, and is "most sumptuously adorned, within and without, with "all manner of curious carving, painting, and rich gilding, being in all respects the greatest and goodliest "ship that ever was built in *England*; and this glorious "ship the king gave unto his son *Henry* prince of *Wales*. "The 24th of *September*, the king, the queen, the "prince of *Wales*, the duke of *York*, and the lady *Elizabeth*, with many great lords, went unto *Woolwich*, "to see it launched; but because of the narrowness of "the dock, it could not then be launched: Whereupon "the prince came the next morning by three o'clock, and "then, at the launching thereof, the prince named it after "his own dignity, and called it, *The Prince*. The great "workmaster in building this ship, was master *Phineas* "*Pet*, gentleman, sometime master of arts of *Emanuel* "*College* in *Cambridge*."[*]

IN the same author, we have an account of the king's going on board the great *East-India* ship of 1200 tons, which

[*] Stowe's annals, continued by Howes, p. 996.

which was built here, and ſeems to have been the firſt of that ſize launched in this kingdom. The king called it, *The Trade's Increaſe*, and a pinace of 250 tons, which was built at the ſame time, he called, *The Pepper-Corn* [w]. This ſhews that he was a favourer of navigation; and though I cannot pretend to ſay exactly, what additions he made to the *Engliſh* fleet, yet, from ſome authentic calculations I have ſeen, I think I may venture to affirm, that queen *Elizabeth*'s ſhips of war at the time of her death, might contain ſomewhat more than 16,000 tons, and that in the days of king *James*, they amounted to upwards of 20,000 tons [x]. The king alſo granted a commiſſion of enquiry, for reforming the abuſes in the navy, the proceedings upon which, are ſtill preſerved in the *Cotton* Library [y]. He was liberal likewiſe to ſeamen, and naturally inclined to do them honour; but as in other things, ſo in this, he was too much governed by his favourites [z]. *Buckingham* managed the admiralty very indifferently, and before his time, *Gundemor* had perſuaded king *James* againſt reaſon, law, the inclinations of his people, nay, againſt his own ſenſe of things, to take off the head of the greateſt man who flouriſhed in his reign, and of whom I am now particularly to ſpeak.

MEMOIRS of Sir WALTER RALEGH, *knight.*

AS the glory of this gentleman's actions were ſufficient to have eſtabliſhed and given luſtre to any family

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[w] Ibid. p. 994.
[x] From ſome notes on Hakluyt, MS.
[y] Vitellius. E. 8.
[z] Wilſon, Baker, Kennet, Echard, and Rapin.

family, ſo his deſcent was honourable enough to exempt him from envy in the high poſts which he by his merit obtained. There were ſeveral families of the name of *Ralegh* in the weſt, and three particularly, which were ſeated in ſeveral parts of the country, and bore different arms. That from which this gentleman ſprung, may be, and indeed is, traced to the reign of king *John*, as the *Raleghs* in general are beyond the conqueſt [a]. His father was *Walter Ralegh*, Eſq; of *Fardel* in the county of *Devon*. This gentleman had three wives, and children by them all. The laſt was *Catherine* the daughter of ſir *Philip Champernon* of *Modbury*, and relict of *Otho Gilbert* of *Compton* in *Devonſhire*, Eſq; by this lady Mr. *Ralegh* had two ſons; *Carew*, who was afterwards knighted, and *Walter*; of whom we are treating, as alſo a daughter *Margaret*, who was twice married. Thus it appears, that this gentleman was brother by the mother's ſide to thoſe famous knights, ſir *John*, ſir *Humphry*, and ſir *Adrian Gilbert* [b].

He was born in the year 1552, at a pleaſant farm called *Hayes*, ſeated in that part of *Devonſhire* which borders on the ſea, and after laying the foundations of literature in his own country, was ſent to *Oxford* while a very young man; ſince according to the beſt authority, he was there in 1568, and ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a proficiency in learning far beyond his age [c]. When he came to, and how long he ſtaid in *Oriel-college* is not very clear; neither

[a] See theſe points judiciouſly cleared by Mr. Oldys, in his life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 4, 5, 6. [b] Viſitation of Devonſhire, by William Hervy, Eſq; clarencieux, MS. in the heralds-office. [c] Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. col. 435.

neither is it well made out, though often and very confidently asserted, that he was afterwards of the *Middle-Temple*. This we are sure of, that about 1569, he in company with many young gentlemen of good families, and martial dispositions, went over into *France*, as well to instruct themselves in the art of war, as to assist the protestants in that kingdom, then grievously oppressed [d]. He served there some considerable time, and attained both skill and reputation. The former is evident from many judicious observations on those wars, which we meet with scattered through his works; and the latter is attested by contemporary and credible authors. It appears from a comparison of facts and dates, that he was somewhat more than five years thus employed, and having still an earnest desire to improve his military skill, and an eager thirst for glory, he passed next into the *Netherlands*, where he served likewise some time against the *Spaniards* [e]. In these transactions he followed, as it was natural for a young man to do, the fashion of the times. *France* and the *Netherlands* were in those days the schools of *Mars*; to which all were obliged to go who addicted themselves to the sword, and were willing to find a way to reputation, by exposing their persons in the service of their country. But whereas numbers were ruined by this course, suffering their minds to be corrupted by the licence of camps, and their behaviour to be infected with that fierce and boisterous humour, which some take for a soldier-like freedom; *Ralegh* on the contrary, made the true

[d] Camden's Annals, A. D. 1569. Jac. August. Thuani historiarum sui temporis, tom. ii. fol. 1626. lib. 46. p. 601.

[e] Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28.

true uſe of his ſervice in a foreign country, increaſed his ſtock of knowledge in all kinds, improved his ſkill as a ſoldier by experience, and ſo compleatly poliſhed his manner of addreſs, that at his return he was conſidered, as one of the beſt bred and moſt acompliſhed gentlemen in *England*.

On Mr. *Ralegh*'s coming back to his native ſoil in 1578, he found his brother ſir *Humphry Gilbert* engaged in a deſign of making diſcoveries in *North-America*, for which he had obtained a patent; and in the furtherance of which he had procured the aſſiſtance of many friends. *Ralegh* was much taken with the deſign, and embarked in it cordially. When it came to be executed, many who had been concerned drew back; but Mr. *Ralegh* not only continued firm to his engagements, but reſolved to accompany his brother in perſon [r]. This was but an unfortunate undertaking, and would have frighted a man of leſs reſolution than *Ralegh*, from venturing to ſea again; for they not only miſſed the great diſcoveries they thought to have made, but were attacked by the *Spaniards* in their return; and though they made a very gallant defence, had no reaſon to boaſt of ſucceſs, loſing one of the beſt ſhips in their ſmall fleet, and in it a very gallant young gentleman, whoſe name was *Miles Morgan* [s]. From this unlucky adventure, Mr. *Ralegh* arrived ſafe in *England*, in the ſpring of the year 1579, and had ſoon after thoughts of ſerving his queen and country in *Ireland*, where his holineſs and the *Spaniards* had ſent men, money, and

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[r] Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 173. Hooker's dedication of his tranſlation and continuation of the Iriſh chronicles. [s] See captain Hales's relation in Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 164.

and bleſſings, to comfort and aſſiſt ſuch as in breach of their oaths would take arms againſt their ſovereign, and cut the throats of the *Engliſh* [h].

It is not very clear at what time our hero croſſed the ſeas; but it appears from indubitable authority, that in 1580, he had a captain's commiſſion under the preſident of *Munſter*, which was then a more honourable commiſſion than now, becauſe there were fewer ſoldiers, and conſequently more care was taken in diſtributing commiſſions [i]. The next year captain *Ralegh* ſerved under the noble earl of *Ormonde*, then governor of *Ulſter*, a man illuſtrious by his illuſtrious birth, and near relation to queen *Elizabeth*; but ſtill more ſo by his virtues and ſteady adherence to his duty, in ſpight of greater temptations, than any other man met with, and by whoſe directions *Ralegh* performed many ſignal ſervices. The *Spaniſh* ſuccours, under the command of an officer of their own, aſſiſted by a choice body of their *Iriſh* confederates, had raiſed and fortified a caſtle, which they called *del Ore*, and which they intended ſhould ſerve them for a place of retreat, whenever they found themſelves diſtreſſed, and prove alſo a key to admit freſh ſuccours from abroad, which they daily expected; and for which it was mighty well ſituated, as ſtanding upon the bay of *Smerwick* in the county of *Kerry*. The then deputy of *Ireland*, lord *Grey*, was a perſon of great courage, and indefatigable induſtry, but withal of a very ſevere temper, and particularly prejudiced againſt the *Iriſh*, and who reſolved at all hazards to diſpoſſeſs them of this fort; which he accordingly

[h] Hooker's ſupplement to the Iriſh chronicles, p. 154. [i] Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 366.

ingly beſieged with his ſmall army for ſome time. In this dangerous enterprize captain *Raleigh* had his ſhare, commanding often in the trenches, and contributing greatly to the reduction of the place, which was at laſt forced to ſurrender at diſcretion, and the lord-deputy directed the greateſt part of the garriſon to be put to the ſword. This was accordingly executed, though with great regret, by the captains *Raleigh* and *Mackworth*[k]. Many other ſervices he performed in *Ireland*, of a nature not neceſſary for me to relate, and theſe very juſtly recommended him to the notice of the government, who in 1581, honoured him with a joint commiſſion to be governor of *Munſter*. In this character he continued to do the ſtate many important ſervices, which were amply rewarded by the grant of a large eſtate in the county he had ſubdued[l].

YET all his care, and all his ſervices, did not hinder his having many enemies, and amongſt them the lord-deputy *Grey*; ſo that he ſeems to have been recalled in the latter end of the ſame year to *England*, where he was quickly introduced to the queen's notice, and by his own merits attained a large ſhare in her favour[m]; and as he was forward to diſtinguiſh himſelf in all public ſervices of reputation, ſo on the return of the duke of *Anjou* into the *Netherlands*, he was one of thoſe who accompanied him out of *England*, by the expreſs command of queen *Elizabeth*; and on his coming back into *England* in 1582, he

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[k] See Mr. Carte's life of the duke of Ormonde, vol. i. in the introduction, Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, Spenſer's ſtate of Ireland, in the 6th volume of his works. [l] Naunton's fragmenta regalia, p. 28, 29. [m] Leiceſter's common-wealth, p. 37. Aulic. coquin. p. 90.

he brought over the prince of *Orange*'s letters to the queen [n]. Some months after this he reſided at court, and was honoured with the favour and protection even of the contending ſtateſmen, who were proud of ſhewing the true judgment they made of merit, by becoming patrons to *Ralegh* [o]. In 1583, he was concerned in his brother *Gilbert*'s ſecond attempt; and though he went not in perſon, yet he built a new ſhip called *The Bark Ralegh*, and furniſhed it compleatly for the voyage; the unſucceſsful end of which, it ſeemed to predict, by its untimely return in leſs than a week to *Plymouth*, through a contagious diſtemper which ſeized on the ſhips crew [p]. Yet neither this accident, nor the unfortunate loſs of his brother ſir *Humphry*, which has been heretofore related, could drive from *Ralegh*'s thoughts a ſcheme ſo beneficial to his country, as theſe northern diſcoveries ſeemed to be. He therefore, digeſted into writing an account of the advantages which he ſuppoſed might attend the proſecution of ſuch a deſign; and having laid his paper before the council, obtained her majeſty's letters patent in favour of his project, dated the twenty-fifth of *March* 1584 [q]. By this ſeaſonable interpoſition, he kept alive that generous ſpirit of ſearching out, and planting diſtant countries, which has been ever ſince of ſuch infinite ſervice to the trade and navigation of *England*.

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[n] Sir Walter Ralegh's invention of ſhipping in his Select Eſſays, p. 36. [o] Shirley's life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 19. Lloyd's State-Worthies, p. 487. [p] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 149. [q] Hiſtorical Account of the Voyages of ſir Walter Ralegh, London 1719, 8vo. p. 8. Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 243.

IT was not long before Mr. *Ralegh* carried his patent into execution; for having made choice of two worthy commanders, captain *Philip Amadas*, and captain *Arthur Barlow*, he fitted out their veſſels with ſuch expedition, though entirely at his own expence, that on the twenty-ſeventh of *April* following, they ſet ſail from the weſt of *England* for the coaſt of *North-America*, where they ſafely arrived in the beginning of the month of *July*, and took poſſeſſion of that fine country, which has been ſince ſo famous by the name beſtowed on it by queen *Elizabeth*, and not given (as is generally ſurmiſed) by ſir *Walter Ralegh*, of *VIRGINIA*[s].

ABOUT this time he was choſen knight of the ſhire for the county of *Devon*[t], and making a conſiderable figure in parliament, he, upon ſome occaſion, entering the royal preſence, in his capacity as a member of the houſe of commons, received the honour of knighthood; but at what time is not exactly known. In 1585, ſir *Walter Ralegh* fitted out a ſecond fleet for *Virginia*, in which he had very good ſucceſs, his ſhips in their return taking a *Spaniſh* prize worth fifty thouſand pounds[u]. He was likewiſe concerned in captain *Davis*'s undertaking, for the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage; for which reaſon a promontory in *Davis*'s ſtreights, was called *Mount-Ralegh*[w]. In reſpect to theſe public-ſpirited, and very expenſive projects, the queen was pleaſed to make him ſome profitable grants; particularly two, the firſt of wine-licences[x], and the other of a ſigniory in *Ireland*, conſiſting of 12,000 acres, which he planted at his own expence, and many years after ſold to

[s] Life of ſir Walter Ralegh, by mr. Oldys, p. 25. [t] Notitia parliamentaria, by Browne Willis, eſq; vol ii. p. 254. [u] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 251. [w] Ibid. p. 101. [x] Mr. Oldys's life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 26.

Richard Boyle, the firſt earl of *Cork* [x]. Encouraged by theſe favours, he fitted out a third fleet for *Virginia*, and two barks, to cruize on the *Spaniards* near the *Azores*, which had ſuch ſucceſs, that they were obliged to leave many of their prizes behind them [y]. This good fortune of his abroad, was ſo improved by his own prudent behaviour at home, that the queen, in the latter part of the year 1586, made him ſeneſchal of the dutchies of *Cornwall* and *Exeter*, and lord-warden of the ſtannaries in *Devonſhire* and *Cornwall*, which preferments, though no more than his merit deſerved, yet expoſed him to the envy of ſuch as, having no deſerts of their own, deſpaired of attaining, by their intrigues, the like advantages [z].

In the year 1587, ſir *Walter Raleigh* fitted out a fourth fleet for *Virginia*, at his own expence; and in 1588 a fifth; but neither had any great ſucceſs, notwithſtanding all imaginable care was taken to provide them thoroughly in all reſpects, and to employ none in this ſervice, but men of reſolution and reputation [a]. Theſe diſappointments, however, ſerved only to ſhew the conſtancy of our hero's temper, and the firmneſs with which he purſued whatever appeared to him conducive to the public good, how little ſoever it turned to his private advantage. With juſtice, therefore, was the wiſe queen *Elizabeth* liberal to ſuch a man, who, whatever he received from her bounty with one hand, beſtowed it immediately in acts glorious to the nation with the other.

[x] Cox's hiſtory of Ireland, p. 389—391. [y] Hakluyt, vol. ii. part 2. p. 120. [z] See Hooker's dedication of his ſupplement to the Iriſh chronicles to ſir Walter Raleigh. [a] Hakluyt, vol. iii. p. 208.

WHEN the nation was alarmed with the news of the king of *Spain's* famous *Armada*, ſir *Walter Raleigh* was one of the council appointed to conſider of ways and means for repulſing thoſe invaders; and his application of his thoughts to this important queſtion, at that time, produced ſuch a ſcheme, for defence, as may be of the greateſt uſe to this iſland, while it remains ſuch [b]. He did not, however, confine himſelf to this province of giving advice; but as he had often fitted out ſhips for his country's honour, and his own, ſo he now did the like for its defence; and not ſatisfied even with that, he expoſed alſo his perſon, among the many noble volunteers, who went to ſea on that occaſion, and performed ſuch ſignal ſervices in the attack and deſtruction of that formidable fleet, as recommended him further to the queen's favour, who granted him ſome additional advantages in his wine-office, which he enjoyed throughout her whole reign, and was the principal ſource of that wealth, which he employed ſo much to his honour in all public ſervices [c].

ABOUT this time, he made an aſſignment of all his right, title, and intereſt in the colony of *Virginia*, to certain gentlemen and merchants of *London*, in hopes they might be able to carry on a ſettlement there, more ſucceſsfully than he had done. He had already ſpent upwards of forty thouſand pounds, in his ſeveral attempts for that purpoſe; and yet it does not appear that he parted with his property, either out of a proſpect of gain, or through an unwillingneſs to run any further hazard; for inſtead of taking a conſideration, he gave them at the time of making

[b] See an extract of this piece in Mr. Oldys's life of ſir Walter Raleigh, p. 39. [c] Townſhend's hiſtorical collections, p. 244.

the aſſignment, an hundred pounds towards their firſt expences; neither did he make any reſerve, except the fifths of all gold and ſilver mines. All his view, was, to engage ſuch a number of joint-adventurers, as by their concurring intereſts, and induſtry, might ſtrengthen his infant colony, and enable it, to reach the end which he had deſigned. With the ſame view, he continued to aſſiſt the company with his advice and protection, whenever they deſired it; and the difficulties they ſtruggled with, for twenty years after, ſufficiently ſhewed, that it was not through any fault of the original proprietor, *Virginia* did not ſooner flouriſh, and that his wiſdom and prudence were no leſs to be admired in this diſpoſal of his concern therein, than his courage and conduct deſerved applauſe, in firſt fixing upon ſo advantagious a ſpot, which has ſince proved itſelf worthy of all the care and expence employed in the ſupport of it [d].

WHEN a propoſition was made by don *Antonio* king of *Portugal*, to queen *Elizabeth*, to aſſiſt him in the recovery of his dominions, the terms he offered, appeared ſo reaſonable, that her majeſty was content to bear a conſiderable ſhare in that undertaking, and to encourage her public-ſpirited ſubjects to furniſh the reſt [e]. Her majeſty's quota, conſiſted of ſix men of war, and threeſcore thouſand pounds; to which, the adventurers added a hundred and twenty ſail of ſhips and between fourteen and fifteen thouſand men, ſoldiers and ſailors. In the fitting out this fleet, ſir *Walter Raleigh* was deeply concerned, and took a ſhare himſelf in the expedition, of which a large account has been given in the former

[d] Haklupt's voyages, firſt edition, p. 815. [e] See don Antonio's letter to the treaſurer, in Strype's annals, vol iii. p. 536.

mer volume [f], and therefore there is no need of repeating it here; eſpecially ſince we meet with no particulars, which perſonally reſpect ſir *Walter*, worth mentioning, except it be taking ſome hulks belonging to the *Hanſe-Towns*, for which, he, together with ſome other commanders, received, as a ſpecial mark of the queen's favour, a gold chain [g]. The next year, he made a voyage to *Ireland*, and towards the latter end of it, formed a grand deſign of attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, taking the plate-fleet, and ſacking *Panama* [h].

THIS enterprize, like that of *Portugal*, was partly at the queen's charge, and partly at that of private perſons, among whom the principal were ſir *Walter Ralegh*, and ſir *John Hawkins*; the former intending to go in perſon as commander in chief of the fleet, which conſiſted of two of the queen's ſhips, and thirteen ſail beſides [i]. Many accidents happen'd, which detained theſe ſhips on the *Engliſh* coaſt, for twelve weeks; but at laſt ſir *Walter Ralegh* ſailed on the 6th of *May* 1592. The very next day ſir *Martin Frobiſher* followed, and overtook him with the queen's letter, to recall him; but he, thinking his honour too deeply engaged, continued at ſea, till all hopes of ſucceſs, according to their intended ſcheme, was loſt; and then returned, leaving the command of the fleet to ſir *Martin Frobiſher*, and ſir *John Burgh* (or *Burrough*) with orders to cruize on the coaſt of *Spain*, and the iſlands. In purſuance of theſe orders, ſir *John Burgh* happily made himſelf maſter of the *Madre de Dios*, or *Mother of God*, one of the greateſt ſhips belonging to the crown of *Portugal*,

[f] See the naval hiſtory of queen Elizabeth, p. 407. [g] Life of ſir Water Ralegh, by Mr. Oldys, p. 50. [h] Hakluyt, vol. ii. pt. 2. p. 194. [i] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 180.

which he brought safely into *Dartmouth*, on the 7th of *September*, in the same year [k]. This is said to have been the most considerable prize, till then, taken in this war, and therefore it may not be amiss to give a particular account of it.

THIS *Carrack* was in burden, no less than 1600 tons, whereof 900 were merchandize; she carried thirty-two pieces of brass ordinance, and between six and seven hundred passengers; was built with decks, seven story, one main orlope, three close decks, one fore-castle, and a spare deck of two floors a-piece. According to the observations of Mr. *Robert Adams*, an excellent geometrician, she was in length, from the beak-head to the stern, 165 feet; in breadth, near 47 feet; the length of her keel, 100 feet; of the main-mast, 121 feet; its circuit, at the partners, near 11 feet; and her main-yard, 106 feet [l]. As to her lading, according to the catalogue taken at *Leadenhall*, the 15th of *September* this year, the principal wares consisted of spices, drugs, silks, callicoes, carpets, quilts, cloth of the rind of trees, ivory, porcelane, or china-ware, ebony; besides pearl, musk, civet, and ambergrease, with many other commodities of inferior value. The *Carogison* freighted ten of our ships for *London*, and was, by moderate computation, valued at a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling [m]. When this vessel was first taken, both sir *Walter Ralegh* and sir *John Hawkins* judged it to be worth four times that sum [n]; and so in all probability she was:

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[k] See a true report of the honourable service by sir John Burrough, L. General of the fleet, prepared by sir W. Ralegh, in Hakluyt, as before cited. [l] Ibid. [m] Affirmed in the close of the said account. [n] This original is still preserved in the Harleyan collection, Oldys's life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 65.

was: but in ſpight of all the care ſir *John Burgh* could take, the ſeamen embezzled a vaſt quantity of valuable effects; neither were the proprietors in a much better ſituation, when ſhe was brought home. Sir *William Monſon* tells us the reaſon, and I chuſe to give it in his own words. "The queen's adventure, ſays he, in this voyage, was "only two ſhips, one of which, and the leaſt of them "too, was at the taking the *Carrack*; which title joined to "her royal authority, ſhe made ſuch uſe of, that the reſt "of the adventurers were forced to ſubmit themſelves to "her pleaſure, with whom ſhe dealt but indifferently [o]." Thus it appears from unexceptionable authority, that the queen, and not ſir *Walter*, was moſt benefited by this capture; and there is reaſon to believe, the like happened upon other occaſions, though ſir *Walter* was generally left to bear the blame.

WHILE ſir *Walter* remained at home, his great genius diſplayed itſelf in all the employments worthy of a citizen, in a free ſtate. He ſhone in the ſenate as a patriot, and the remains we have of his ſpeeches, leave us in doubt which we ought moſt to admire, the beauty of his eloquence, or the ſtrength of his underſtanding [p]. He was, beſides, the patron and protector of learned men; the great encourager of all public undertakings, and one of the queen's declared favourites at court [q]. It was here, that ſir *Walter Ralegh* found himſelf at a loſs. In ſpight of all his wiſdom and prudence, he became enamoured of mrs. *Throckmorton*, one of the queen's ladies of honour, and the conſequences

[o] Naval tracts, p. 181. [p] Sir Simonds d'Ewes journal of queen Elizabeth's parliaments, p. 478, 484, 488, 490, &c. Hayward Townſhend's hiſtorical collections, fol. 65. [q] Naunton's fragmenta regalia, Lloyd's ſtate-worthies.

ſequences of this amour proved ſuch, as could not be concealed. The queen, though ſhe had paſſed by errors of a like nature in *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*, yet ſhe puniſhed this miſtake of *Ralegh*'s very ſeverely: but whether led thereto by the inſinuations of his enemies, or from a notion, that the greater a man's abilities, the leſs his offences deſerved pardon, I pretend not to determine [r]. However, the queen's frowns wrought in this reſpect, a proper reformation. Sir *Walter* meditated in his retirement, a greater deſign [s] than hitherto he had undertaken, while in the queen's favour; and that was, the diſcovery of the rich and ſpacious empire of *Guiana*, a noble country in *South-America*, which the *Spaniards* had than only viſited, and to this day have never conquered.

FROM the time he firſt entertained this notion, he made it his buſineſs to collect whatever informations might be had relating to this place, and the means of entering it. When he thought himſelf as much maſter of the ſubject as books could make him, he drew up inſtructions for captain *Whiddon*, an old experienced officer, whom he ſent to take a view of the coaſt, and who returned with a fair report of the riches of the country, the poſſibility of diſcovering and ſubduing it, and the treachery and cruelty of the *Spaniards* ſettled in its neighbourhood. This fixed ſir *Walter* in his reſolution; and therefore, having provided a ſquadron of ſhips at his own expence, and thoſe of his noble friends, the lord high-admiral *Howard* and ſir *Robert Cecil*, he prepared for this adventure [t], which he alſo accompliſhed.

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[r] Camden's annals, p. 697. Naunton, Lloyd, &c. [s] See the dedication prefixed to his own diſcourſe hereafter mentioned. [t] Life of ſir Walter Ralegh, by mr. Oldys, p. 77.

ON the 6th of *February*, 1595, he ſail'd from *Plymouth*, and arrived at the iſle of *Trinidado*, on the 22d of *March*. He there made himſelf eaſily maſter of St. *Joſeph*'s, a ſmall city, and took the *Spaniſh* governor, *Antonio Berreo*, priſoner, who gave him a large deſcription of the neighbouring continent, and the trade in thoſe parts, unknown before to the *Engliſh*. On this information, he left the ſhip at *Trinidado*, and with a hundred men, in ſeveral little barks, proceeded up the river *Oronoque*, 400 miles high, in ſearch of *Guiana*. *Carrapana*, one of the petty kings of the country, and ſeveral others of them, reſigning their ſovereignties into his hand, for the queen's uſe. But the weather was ſo hot, and the rains ſo violent, that he was forced to retire in as much danger of being borne down by the rapid torrents of water, as of his enemies. The inhabitants of *Cumana*, refuſing to bring in the contribution he aſſigned them to pay, to ſave the town, he fired it, as alſo part of St. *Mary*'s, and *Rio de la Hacha*; which done, he returned home, with glory and riches. Of the whole of his proceedings, the manner of his entering this hidden country, and making a farther progreſs there in a month, than the *Spaniards* had done in half a century; of the nature of the ſoil, and the certainty of finding many and rich mines of gold, ſir *Walter* has left us ſo fair, ſo copious, and ſo well-written a relation [u], that if his ſubſequent unfortunate voyage had not thrown a ſhade over ſo bright a proſpect, we could ſcarce render a reaſon why *Guiana* ſhould not

[u] Under the title of, "the diſcovery of the large, rich, and "beautiful empire of GUIANA, with a relation of the great and "golden city MANOA, called by the Spaniards EL DORADO, and "performed in the year 1595, by ſir Walter Ralegh, imprinted "at London, by Robert Robinſon, 4to, 1596."

not at this time, have been as throughly known, and as compleatly ſettled by, the *Engliſh*, as *Virginia*.

WHATEVER might be pretended by the deep and cunning ſtateſmen of that age, as that many things fabulous, and more uncertain, were related in Sir *Walter*'s account, and that it was hazarding too much, to ſend a large fleet, well mann'd, into ſo ſickly a climate; whatever, I ſay, of this kind, was pretended (as wiſe men will never want pretences, even when their paſſions incline them to do weak things) yet envy was certainly the true cauſe why his propoſals were poſtponed at firſt, and afterwards, notwithſtanding all his preſſing ſolicitations, abſolutely rejected [y]. Sir *Walter*, however, to ſhew his own entire confidence in this ſcheme, and perhaps with a view to make things ſo plain, that even his detractors ſhould have nothing to object, fitted out two ſhips at his own expence, *The Delight*, and *The Diſcoverer*, and ſent them under captain *Kemeys*, who had ſerved in the former enterprize to *Guiana*, as well to make farther inquiries, as in ſome meaſure to keep his word with the *Indians*, to whom he had promiſed, in the name of the queen his miſtreſs, ſuch aſſiſtance as might enable them to drive away the *Spaniards*, who were continually attempting rather to extirpate than ſubdue them. This voyage *Kemeys* ſucceſsfully performed, and, at his return, publiſhed ſuch an account of his expedition [z], as might have converted to ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s opinion of *Guiana*, all whom invincible ignorance or

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[y] See captain Kemeys's dedication to ſir Walter Raleigh. [z] A relation of the ſecond voyage to Guiana, performed and written in 1596, by Lawrence Kemeys, Gent. Hakluyt's voyages, vol. iii. p. 683.

or over-weening prejudice, had not deſtined to remain infidels.

THE next important expedition in which we find ſir *Walter* engaged was, that famous one to *Cadiz*, wherein the earl of *Eſſex* and the lord high-admiral *Howard* were joint commanders, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*, with many other perſons of great military ſkill and prudence, appointed of their council[y]. In the former volume we have given a general account of the nature and deſign of this expedition, and here, therefore, we ſhall dwell only on ſuch particulars as more immediately relate to the gentleman of whom we are ſpeaking. The fleet ſailed in the beginning of *June* 1596, and on the twentieth of the ſame month, they arrived before *Cadiz*. The lord admiral's opinion was to attack and take the town firſt, that the *Engliſh* fleet might not be expoſed to the fire of the ſhips in the port, and that of the city and forts adjacent, at the ſame time. The council of war which he called upon this occaſion, concurred with him in opinion, and ſo a reſolution was taken inſtantly to attack the town[z].

IT ſo happened that ſir *Walter Raleigh* was not at this council, and the earl of *Eſſex* was actually putting his men into boats before *Raleigh* was acquainted with the deſign. As ſoon as he knew it, he went to the earl and proteſted againſt it, offering ſuch weighty reaſons for their falling firſt on the galleons, and the ſhips in the harbour, that the earl was convinced of the neceſſity of doing it, and deſired ſir *Walter* to diſſuade the lord-admiral from landing. Sir *Walter* undertook it, and prevailed with him to conſent, that

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[y] Camden's annals, p. 720. [z] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 184. Triumphs of Naſſau, fol. 187. Purchas's pilgrims, vol. iv. p. 1929.

that the fleet ſhould firſt enter the port, and fall on the *Spaniſh* galleons and gallies. When he returned to the earl of *Eſſex* with the news, crying out aloud in his long boat, *entramos*, the earl flung his hat into the ſea for joy, and prepared to weigh anchor. Sir *Walter* gave the lord-admiral a draught of the manner in which he thought beſt to begin the fight. Two great fly-boats were to board a galleon, after they had been ſufficiently battered by the queen's ſhips of war; which being agreed on, and both the generals perſuaded to lead the main body of the fleet, *Rolegh* in the *Warſpight*, had the command of the van, which was to enter the harbour, and conſiſted of the *Mary Roſe*, commanded by ſir *George Carew*, the *Lyon* by ſir *Robert Southwell*, the *Rainbow* by ſir *Francis Vere*, the *Swiftſure* by captain *Croſs*, the *Dreadnought* by ſir *Conyers Clifford*, and the *Non-pareil* by Mr. *Dudley*. Theſe were followed by the fly-boats and *London* hired ſhips, lord *Thomas Howard* leaving his own ſhip the *Mer Honeur*, to go on board the *Non-pareil*. Yet the action did not commence that evening, becauſe being a matter of great importance, the council had not time to regulate the manner of it exactly [a].

On the twenty-ſecond of *June*, ſir *Walter* weighed anchor at break of day, and bore in towards the *Spaniſh* fleet, which had thus diſpoſed itſelf to reſiſt the attack. Seventeen gallies were ranged under the walls of the city, that they might the better flank the *Engliſh* ſhips as they entered, and hinder them from paſſing forward to the gal-

leons.

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[a] Sir Walter Ralegh's relation of the action at Cadiz, publiſhed by his grandſon Philip Ralegh, eſq; at the end of an abridgment of ſir Walter Ralegh's hiſtory of the world, 1700. 8vo. Triumphs of Naſſau, and Purchas's pilgrim before-cited.

leons. The artillery from *Fort-Philip* played on the fleet, as did the cannon from the curtain of the town, and ſome culverins ſcoured the channel. When the *Spaniſh* admiral, the *St. Philip*, perceived the *Engliſh* approaching under ſail, ſhe alſo ſet ſail, and with her the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Thomas*, the *St. Andrew*, the two great galleaſſes of *Liſbon*, three frigates, convoy to their plate-fleet from the *Havanah*, two argoſies, very ſtrong in artillery, the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of *Nueva Eſpanna*, with forty other great ſhips bound for *Mexico*, and other places. Of theſe the *St. Philip*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Andrew*, and the *St. Thomas*, four capital ſhips, came again to anchor under the fort of *Puntal*, in a ſtreight of the harbour which leads to *Puerto-Real*. On the ſtarboard-ſide they placed the three frigates, behind them the two galleaſſes of *Liſbon*. The argoſies, and the ſeventeen gallies, they poſted to play on the *Engliſh* as they entered the harbour; and behind theſe the admiral, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of *New-Spain*, with the body of the fleet, hoping by this great ſtrength to defend the entrance; their line reaching like a bridge over the ſtreight from point to point, and was guarded by the fort of *Puntal*. Sir *Walter* in the van of the *Engliſh* was ſaluted by *Fort-Philip*, by the cannon on the curtain, and by all the gallies in good order. *Ralegh* ſcorned their fire, and anſwered with a flouriſh of trumpets, without diſcharging a gun. The ſhips that followed him beat ſo thick on the gallies, that they preſently betook them to their oars, and got up to join the galleons in the ſtreight. Sir *Walter* gave them ſeveral broad-ſides as they drove by him, and bore down on the *St. Philip* and *St. Andrew*, as more worthy his fire. The lord *Thomas Howard* came to an anchor by him; ſir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lion* did the ſame on the one

ſide,

ſide, and the *Dreadnought*, and the *Mary Roſe* on the other; the *Rainbow* lay on *Puntal*-ſide: and thus they cannonaded each other for three hours. About ten o'clock the earl of *Eſſex*, impatient to hear the noiſe of the guns and to be himſelf out of action, made through the fleet, headed the ſhips on the larboard-ſide of the *Warſpight*, and anchored as near ſir *Walter* as poſſible. *Raleigh* kept always cloſeſt to the enemy, and ſtood ſingle in the head of all. After they had played ſo long on the capital ſhips, ſir *Walter* went in his ſkiff to the admiral, deſiring that the fly-boats which were promiſed him might come up, and then he would board the enemy; if not, he would board them with the queen's ſhip, it being the ſame to him, whether he ſunk or burnt, and one of them would certainly be his fate. The earl of *Eſſex*, and the lord *Thomas Howard* had aſſured him they would ſecond him [b].

AFTER a long and deſperate fight, ſir *Walter* deſpairing of the fly-boats, and depending on lord *Eſſex* and lord *Thomas Howard*'s promiſes to aſſiſt him, prepared to board the *Spaniſh* admiral; which the latter no ſooner perceived, than ſhe, and the other capital ſhips following her example, ran aſhore. The admiral and the *St. Thomas* they burnt, the *St. Matthew*, and the *St. Andrew* were ſaved by the *Engliſh* boats before they took fire. The *Engliſh* were merciful after their victory; but the *Dutch*, who did little or nothing in the fight, put all to the ſword, till they were check'd by the lord admiral, and their cruelty reſtrained by ſir *Walter Raleigh*. The moſt remarkable circumſtance in this whole affair, ſeems to be the diſproportion

[b] See the foregoing relations, and the voyage to Cadiz, in Hakluyt's collection.

tion between the *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh* force, there being but ſeven ſhips of the former againſt ſeventy-one of the latter. This great blow rendered the taking of the city, which followed it, the more eaſy, which, however, was performed rather by dint of valour than conduct, and with ſuch an impetuoſity, as did leſs honour to the officers than to the ſoldiers. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom undoubtedly the chief honour of the naval victory was due, went aſhore, though he was wounded, to have ſome ſhare of this, but when he ſaw that all things were in confuſion, he very wiſely returned on board the fleet[a].

THE next morning ſir *Walter* ſent to the lord admiral for orders to follow the *Spaniſh Weſt-India* fleet outward bound, lying then in *Puerto-real*, where they could not eſcape him; but in the hurry and confuſion every one was in on the taking of the town, this opportunity was ſlipt, and no anſwer ſent to his deſire. In the afternoon the merchants of *Sevill* and *Cadiz* offered two millions to ſave thoſe ſhips; and while the bargain hung, the duke of *Medina Sidonia* cauſed all that rich fleet to be burnt; and thus were all the galleons, gallies, frigates, argoſies, and the fleets of *New-Spain*, royal and trading, conſumed, except the St. *Matthew*, and the St. *Andrew*, in poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. The town was very rich in merchandize and plate. Many wealthy priſoners were given to the land-commanders, who were enriched by their ranſom; ſome had 20, ſome 16, ſome 20,000 ducats for their priſoners; others had houſes and goods given them, and ſold them to the owners for vaſt ſums of money.

Sir

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[a] Camden, Triumphs of Naſſau, Hakluyt's account of the Cadiz voyage, Vere's Commentaries, p. 39, and ſir Walter's own account before-mentioned.

Sir *Walter* got, to uſe his own words, *a lame leg and deformed; for the reſt, he either ſpoke too late, or 'twas otherwiſe reſolved; he wanted not good words, yet had poſſeſſion of nought but poverty and pain*[a].

In their return home they took *Faro* in the kingdom of *Algarve*; and *Eſſex* propoſed ſome other enterprizes, in which he was oppoſed, and the point carried againſt him by the concurring opinions of the chief land and ſea-officers. Yet on his return *Eſſex* publiſhed ſome remarks, or, as he calls them, objections in relation to this voyage, wherein (as Mr. *Oldys* well obſerves, and therein juſtly cenſures ſir *Henry Wotton*) the earl queſtions every body's conduct but his own. The queen, however, taking time to inform herſelf, made a right judgment of the whole affair; in conſequence of which, ſhe paid a due reſpect to every man's merit, and greater to none than to that of ſir *Walter Ralegh*[b].

Immediately after his return, our hero bethought himſelf of his favourite project, the ſettling *Guiana*. In order to further diſcoveries which might effectually lead thereto, he ſent a ſtout pinnace, well freighted with every thing neceſſary, under the command of captain *Leonard Berrie*, which ſafely arrived there in the month of *March* 1597; and having entered into a friendly commerce with the inhabitants of the coaſt, and learned from them very particular accounts of the preſent ſtate and riches of the higher country, they returned again to the port of *Plymouth* the twenty-eighth of *June* following. This expedition ſeems to be an indubitable proof of two things:

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[a] Camden, Vere's Commentaries, p. 42, and ſir Walter's relation. [b] Life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 106.

things: firſt, that ſir *Walter* himſelf was in earneſt in this diſcovery, otherwiſe there can be no cauſe aſſigned, why, having ſo many matters of importance upon his hands, he ſhould yet buſy himſelf in an undertaking of this kind. Secondly, that ſir *Walter*'s hopes were as well founded, as it was poſſible for a man's to be, in a thing of this nature, ſince the account given us of this voyage is ſuch a one as is liable to no juſt objections [f].

THE next public ſervice wherein we meet with ſir *Walter Ralegh* is, that called, *The Iſland-Voyage*, of which we have alſo given a copious account in our former volume. In this undertaking of which we have as full and clear memorials, as of any in the glorious reign of queen *Elizabeth*; it very plainly appears, that *Eſſex* had the command, and *Ralegh* the abilities; which was the true reaſon why the former acquired ſo little honour, and the latter ſo much; though with a leſs jealous commander, he had certainly attained more. Their diſputes began early. A misfortune fell out in *Ralegh*'s ſhip in the bay of *Biſcay*, which obliged him to lie behind the fleet; and afterwards, when this accident was repaired, and he came to the rock of *Liſbon*, he met with a large number of ſhips and tenders, which were by him conducted to the *Azores*. This ſignal ſervice, the creatures of *Eſſex*, by a ſort of logic in which they were well practiſed, conſtrued into a high offence; for they pretended, that theſe veſſels had quitted the general, to wait on the rear-admiral; but ſir *Walter* having convinced the earl, that theſe ſhips came to the rock of *Liſbon*, as the rendezvous appointed by himſelf,

[f] See the relation of this voyage by Mr. Thomas Maſham, in Hakluyt, vol. iii p. 692.

and that he finding them there, had brought them, as became him, to attend upon his lordſhip, *Eſſex* had ſenſe enough to be pacified for that time [g]: but ſoon after, things went wrong again. It was agreed in a council of war, that the general, and ſir *Walter Raleigh*, ſhould land jointly on the iſland of *Fayall*, where *Raleigh* waited four days for his lordſhip, and hearing nothing of him, held a council of war, wherein it was reſolved, by ſuch as were leſs concerned for *Eſſex*'s honour, than the nation's glory, that ſir *Walter* ſhould attempt by himſelf, what they ſhould jointly have performed. This reſolution he executed, and ſhewed therein as much perſonal courage as any private ſoldier, and all the conduct that could be expected from a very wiſe and experienced commander; ſo that we need not wonder he met with ſucceſs, and did all that he deſigned. *Eſſex*, on his arrival, forgot the public ſervice, and thought of nothing but his own private diſgrace, which vexed him ſo much, that he broke ſome of the officers who had behaved gallantly under *Raleigh*; and ſome talk there was, of trying him, and taking off his head; but at laſt, by the mediation of lord *Thomas Howard*, who was vice-admiral, and ſir *Walter*'s condeſcending to excuſe his having done ſo much, before his lordſhip did any thing, matters were made up once again. The caſhiered officers were reſtored, *Raleigh* returned to his care of the public ſervice, and *Eſſex* proceeded in his miſtakes [h]. In conſequence of theſe, they miſſed the *Weſt-India* fleet, though *Raleigh* had the good luck to take ſome prizes, the

[g] See the accurate relation of all that paſſed in this voyage, by ſir Arthur Gorges, in Purchas's Pilgrim, vol. iv. p. 1938. [h] See an excellent account of this affair by ſir Walter himſelf, in his Hiſtory of the world, book v. cap. i. ſect. ix. and in the before-mentioned relation.

the produce of which paid his men, ſo that he loſt neither credit nor money by the voyage. On his return, though *Eſſex* is ſaid to have found means to throw the miſcarriage of all his pompous promiſes on inevitable accidents, with the mob, and ſome of his creatures imputed them to ſir *Walter*; yet theſe accuſations would not paſs with the queen, who ſhewed *Raleigh* more favour than ever; even though he took leſs pains to vindicate himſelf, and teſtified more reſpect for the great earl, than perhaps any other man would have done [1].

THE next year we find him again in parliament, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by uniting what of late have been thought oppoſite characters; the patriot, and the ſervant of the crown, but which he ſhewed to be very conſiſtent. By his intereſt with the queen, he procured ſome griping projects to be diſcountenanced; by his weight in the houſe, he promoted ſupplies; he alſo obtained ſome indulgencies for the tinners in *Cornwall*, and ſhewed himſelf, upon all occaſions, a ready and a rational advocate for the poor. In 1599, when the queen was pleaſed to fit out, in the ſpace of a fortnight, ſo great a navy as ſtruck her neighbours with awe, ſir *Walter* was appointed vice-admiral; which honour, though he enjoyed it but for a ſingle month, yet was a high mark of the queen's confidence, ſince at that time, ſhe was no leſs apprehenſive of ſtirs at home, than of an invaſion from abroad. In 1600, the queen was pleaſed to ſend lord *Cobham*, and ſir *Walter Raleigh*, to the *Dutch*, and after conferring with prince *Maurice* of *Naſſau*, ſir *Walter* returned again about

[1] See ſir Arthur Gorge's account, before referred to, Vere's Commentaries, p. 65, 66, 67.

the middle of the year, and a little after, he was by the queen made governor of the iſland of *Jerſey*; but ſhe reſerved three hundred pounds a year out of that government, to be diſpoſed of as ſhe thought fit [k].

His next great ſervice was, againſt *Eſſex*, in his inſurrection in the *February* following. It would be a great deal beſide our purpoſe, to enter into a long detail of that perplexed affair. Let it ſuffice then, that we obſerve, after a due compariſon of what contemporary writers have left us of this matter, that lord *Eſſex* was his own enemy, and that he brought ſir *Walter*'s name upon the carpet, to ſkreen his own deſigns. He gave out, that the cauſe of his arming was to defend himſelf againſt his perſonal enemies, pretending that *Cobham* and *Ralegh* had contrived a ſcheme to aſſaſſinate him: whereas ſir *Chriſtopher Blount* had in truth, made a propoſal of this ſort to *Eſſex*, with reſpect to *Ralegh*; and when this was judged impracticable, adviſed the propagating the other ſtory to colour their proceedings, as himſelf confeſſed. When the miſchief broke out, ſir *Walter* did his duty, and no more than his duty. Some, indeed, have reported, that, after the earl of *Eſſex* was condemned, he preſſed the queen to ſign a warrant for his execution; and that he ſhewed a particular pleaſure in beholding his death: which however, is not ſtrictly true; for though he had placed himſelf near the ſcaffold, before the earl appeared, yet he removed from thence before his death, becauſe the people ſeemed to take his appearance there in a wrong light: but this he afterwards repented; becauſe when the earl came to die, he expreſſed a great deſire to have ſeen and ſpoke to him, from

[k] Life of ſir Walter Ralegh, by Mr. Oldys, 126,——130.

from a foreſight of which, ſir *Walter Raleigh* had taken that poſt. When ſir *Chriſtopher Blount* came to die, he actually begged ſir *Walter*'s pardon, and confeſſed the wrong that had been done him, in the reports ſpread to inflame the populace. Yet it is certain, that even this confeſſion did not quaſh ſuch reports; but from this time forward, *Raleigh* had more enemies than ever; and, which was worſe, the queen's ſucceſſor was prejudiced againſt him, by ſuch accounts as were tranſmitted to him in *Scotland*[1].

It is not at all impoſſible, that thoſe artful ſtateſmen, who had ſo much addreſs, as to make the populace then, and by employing the pen of a learned hiſtorian, the world in general now believe, they were ſeconds only in theſe quarrels, and *Eſſex* and *Raleigh* principals, hated both alike, and contrived to make them ruin each other; by inflaming *Eſſex* againſt *Raleigh* firſt, which induced him to write in his prejudice to king *James*, with whom, by the hands of Mr. *Anthony Bacon*, he kept a conſtant correſpondence, and after bringing him to the block, allowing the truth of thoſe informations, that they might run no hazard (in a new reign) from ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s abilities. The conjecture is render'd probable enough from the whole thread of the relation, nor would it be a very hard taſk to prove it was really ſo from inconteſtible authorities. So eaſy it is in courts, for malice and cunning to get the better of courage and ſenſe.

In the ſummer of the year 1601, he attended the queen in her progreſs, and on the arrival of the duke *de Biron*, as ambaſſador from *France*, he received him, by

[1] Ibid. 133, —— 139.

her majeſty's appointment, and conferred with him on the ſubject of his embaſſy. In the laſt parliament of the queen, ſir *Walter* was a very active member, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon all occaſions, by oppoſing ſuch bills as, under colour of deep policy, were contrived for the oppreſſion of the meaner ſort of people; ſuch as that for compelling every man to till a third part of his ground, and others of a like nature. Nor was he leſs ready to countenance ſuch laws as bore hard upon the rich, and even upon traders; where it was evident, that private intereſt claſhed with public benefit, and there was a neceſſity of hurting ſome, for the ſake of doing good to all. This ſhews that he had a juſt notion of popularity, and knew how to diſtinguiſh between diſcerning and deſiring it. An inſtance of this appeared in his promoting a law for the reſtraining the exportation of ordnance, which at that time, was of mighty advantage to ſuch as were concerned in that commerce, but of inexpreſſible detriment to the nation; becauſe it was the ſource of the enemy's power at ſea, the *Spaniſh* navy making uſe of none but *Engliſh* cannon.

In the point of monopolies, indeed he was not altogether ſo clear; but he ſhewed that he made a moderate uſe of the grants he had obtained from the crown, and offered, if others were cancelled, to ſurrender his freely [m].

Upon the demiſe of queen *Elizabeth*, ſir *Walter* was not without hopes of coming into favour with her ſucceſſor, whoſe countenance he had ſought by various preſents, and other teſtimonies of reſpect, which he ſent into *Scotland*, and from the reception they met with, had no reaſon

[m] Heyward Townſhend's Collections, and ſir Simonds D'Ewes's Journal of queen Elizabeth's parliaments.

reaſon at all to ſuſpect that he ſtood upon ill terms with king *James* [n]. He was not ignorant, however, of the pains taken by *Eſſex*, to infuſe into the king's mind, prejudices againſt him, which, however, he thought to wear out by aſſiduous ſervice. On the king's coming into *England*, he had, notwithſtanding common reports, frequent acceſs to him, and thereby an opportunity of diſcovering both his deſire and his capacity of ſerving his majeſty. But he quickly found himſelf coolly treated, nor was he long at a loſs for the reaſon. Sir *Robert Cecil*, who had been his friend and aſſociate, ſo long as they were both in danger from *Eſſex*, foreſeeing that, if ever *Ralegh* came into king *James*'s confidence, his adminiſtration would not laſt long, drew ſuch a character of him to that prince, as he thought moſt likely to diſguſt him; and dwelt particularly upon this, that *Ralegh* was a martial man, and would be continually forming projects to embarraſs him with his neighbours [o]. Sir *Walter*, in return for this good office, did him another; for he drew up a memorial, wherein he ſhewed plainly, that the affection of the *Cecils* for his majeſty, was not the effect of choice, but of force; that in reality, it was chiefly through the intrigues of one of that family, his mother loſt her head, and that they never thought of promoting his ſucceſſion, till they ſaw it would take place in ſpight of them [p]. This memorial was far from having the effects he expected; nor indeed

[n] Dr. Peter Heylyn's Examen. Hiſtoricum, p. 170. A brief relation of ſir Walter Ralegh's troubles, p. 1. [o] Baker's Chronicle, Oſborne's Memorials of the reign of king James, &c. [p] See Dr. Welwood's notes on Arthur Wilſon's hiſtory of king James, as it is printed in Dr. Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 663, 664.

would he have expected them, if he had known king *James* thoroughly. That timorous prince ſaw the power of *Cecil* at that time, and thought he had need of it, forgetting that it was the effects of his own favour, and ſo became dependant upon him, as he afterwards was upon *Buckingham*, whom, for many years before his death, he truſted, but did not love [q]. This, with his averſion to all martial enterprizes, engaged him to turn a deaf ear to ſir *Walter*'s propoſals; and perhaps to do more than this, if we are ſo juſt to *Cecil*, as to ſuppoſe that he did not afterwards perſecute *Ralegh* without a cauſe, I mean without perſonal offence given to him. However it was, *Ralegh* had the mortification to ſee himſelf, notwithſtanding the pains he had taken, ſlighted and ill uſed at court: and this might probably determine him to keep company with ſome who were in the ſame ſituation, and who were his intimate acquaintance before; which, however, proved his ruin [r].

AMONG theſe companions of his was lord *Cobham*, a man of a weak head, but a large fortune, over whom *Ralegh* had a great aſcendant, and with whom he lived in conſtant correſpondence. This man, who was naturally vain, and now much diſcontented, had an intercourſe with various ſorts of people, and talked to each in ſuch a ſtile as he thought would be moſt agreeable to them. In the reign of queen *Elizabeth* he had conferred with the duke of *Aremberg*, a *Flemiſh* nobleman in the king of *Spain*'s ſervice, and who was now in *England* as ambaſſador from

[q] See the earl of Briſtol's anſwer to the articles of high-treaſon, exhibited againſt him in parliament, printed in Frankland's Annals of king James, and king Charles, p. 127, 128, 129. [r] See Mr. Oldys's life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 152, 153.

from the arch-duke; but in truth, with a view to negotiate a peace with *Spain*. With him *Cobham* renewed his acquaintance, and in his name propoſed giving ſir *Walter* a large ſum of money, if inſtead of oppoſing, as he had hitherto done, he would forward that peace[s]. In the mean time, ſome popiſh prieſts, and other diſaffected and diſappointed perſons, had framed a plot againſt the king and royal family, which was to be executed by ſeizing, if not deſtroying his majeſty and his children, and with ſome of theſe people *Cobham* alſo had an intercourſe, by the means of his brother Mr. *Brooke*. This laſt treaſon being diſcovered, and traced to the perſon we have juſt mentioned, there grew a ſuſpicion of *Cobham*, and in conſequence of his intimacy with *Ralegh*, there aroſe ſome doubts alſo as to him. Upon this, they were all apprehended, and *Cobham*, who was a timorous man, was drawn in to charge ſir *Walter* with ſeveral things in his confeſſion[t]. The enemies of *Ralegh* contrived to blend theſe treaſons together, though they, or at leaſt *Cecil*, knew them to be diſtinct things; and ſo he ſtates them in a letter to Mr. *Winwood*, wherein he ſhews his diſlike to ſir *Walter Ralegh*, and his ſenſe at the ſame time of the want of any real evidence which might affect him; however, what was deficient in proof, was made up in force and fraud. The prieſts, *Watſon* and *Clerk*, were firſt tried and convicted; ſo was Mr. *George Brooke*, who had been their aſſociate: and on the ſeventeenth of *November* 1603, ſir *Walter Ralegh* was tried at *Wincheſter*, and convicted of high-treaſon, by the influence of the court, and the bawling

[s] Arraignment of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 97. [t] See the whole proceedings in the firſt volume of State Trials.

ling *Billingſgate* eloquence of the attorney-general *Coke*, without any colour of evidence [u]. This is that treaſon which was ſo juſtly ſlighted in his days, and which has ſo much perplexed ours.

THAT there was really no truth in what was alledged againſt ſir *Walter*, may be proved to a demonſtration, if we conſider, that all the evidence that was ever pretended, in relation to his knowledge of the ſurprizing treaſon, or plot to ſeize the king and his family, was the hearſay teſtimony of *George Brooke*, that his brother *Cobham* ſhould ſay, *That it would never be well, until the* fox *and* cubbs *were taken off*; and afterwards, ſpeaking to this *Brooke*, *that* he, *lord* Grey, *and others were only on the* bye, *but* Ralegh *and* himſelf *were on the* main; intimating, that they were only truſted with leſſer matters, but that the capital ſcheme, before-mentioned, was concerted between him and ſir *Walter* [w]. Yet when *Brooke* came to die, as he did deſervedly, upon his own confeſſion, he recalled and retracted this circumſtance, owning, that he never heard his brother make uſe of that phraſe *about the fox and cubbs* [x], which takes away conſequently the credit of that other ſtory grounded upon it: and this we have upon the beſt authority that can be, that of lord *Cecil*, afterwards earl of *Saliſbury*, himſelf, who commends *Brooke* for ſhewing this remorſe in his laſt moments [y]. Thus out of his capital enemy's mouth I have proved the innocence of ſir *Walter Ralegh*, who conſtantly and judiciouſly

[u] Lord Cecil's letter to Mr. Winwood, in Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 8; Life of ſir Walter Ralegh by Mr. Oldys, p. 157. [w] See ſir Thomas Overbury's copy of ſir Walter's arraignment, p. 12. [x] Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 8. [y] In the before-cited letter of lord Cecil to Mr. Winwood.

diciouſly at his trial, diſtinguiſhed between *the* ſurprizing *treaſon* and the *conferences with* Aremberg. The former he denied the leaſt knowledge of; but as to the latter, owned that *Cobham* had talked to him of a large preſent, in caſe he would be for a peace with *Spain*, and complained of the hardſhip of dying, *for having once heard a vain man ſay a few idle things* [z].

THOUGH the law made no diſtinction between ſir *Walter Ralegh* and the reſt, who were involved in this treaſon, yet the king made a great deal, for he never ſigned any warrant for his execution [a]; but on the contrary, projected that ſtrange tragi-comedy of bringing the two lords *Cobham* and *Grey*, with ſir *Griffin Markham*, to the block, and then granting them a reprieve, purely to diſcover the truth of what *Cobham* had alledged againſt *Ralegh*, and what might be drawn by the fright of death from the other two [b]. As all this brought forth nothing, the king laid aſide all thoughts of taking away his life; and if *Raiegh* laboured ſome time under an uncertainty of this, it ought to be attributed rather to the malice of his potent adverſaries, than to any ill intention in the king, of which I diſcern no ſigns, and of the contrary to which ſir *Walter* himſelf in his letters, ſeems to be poſitive [c]. Neither do I ſay this with any view of excuſing king *James*, but purely out of reſpect to truth, and that it may appear how dangerous a thing it is to live under a prince, who ſuffers himſelf to be abſolutely directed by his miniſters; ſince not only the vices of ſuch a monarch are deſtructive, but even his virtues become uſeleſs.

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[z] Arraignment of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 101, 106. [a] Stowe's Annals, p. 831. [b] Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii. p. 11. [c] Ralegh's Remains, p. 192.

In the month of *December*, *Ralegh* was remanded to the *Tower*, and upon the petition of his wife, was allowed the conſolation of her company, and by degrees obtained ſtill greater favours; for the king was pleaſed to grant all the goods and chattels, forfeited to him by ſir *Walter*'s conviction, to truſtees of his appointing, for the benefit of his creditors, and of his lady and children [d]. In a reaſonable ſpace, his eſtate followed his goods; and now he began to conceive himſelf in a fair way of being reſtored to that condition from which he had fallen. In this, however, he was much miſtaken, for a new court-favourite ariſing, who had a mind to enrich himſelf by ſuch kind of grants, he diſcovered a flaw in the conveyance of *Ralegh*'s eſtate to his ſon, which, being prior to the attainder, gave the crown a title paramount to that which was underſtood to be therein, when the forfeiture was granted back to *Ralegh*. Upon an information in the court of *Exchequer*, judgment was given for the crown, and the effect of that judgment was turned to the benefit of the favourite, who in 1609, had a compleat grant of all that ſir *Walter* had forfeited [e]. This courtier was ſir *Robert Carr*, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of *Somerſet*, to whom ſir *Walter* wrote an excellent letter, wherein he ſtated the hardſhip of his own caſe without bitterneſs, expoſtulated freely, and yet inoffenſively, about the wrong done him, and entreated the favourite's compaſſion, without any unbecoming condeſcenſion [f]. All this, however, ſignified nothing; ſir *Walter* loſt his eſtate, but not his hopes.

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[d] Rymer's fœdera, tom. xvi. p. 596. [e] A brief relation of ſir Walter Ralegh's troubles, p. 7. [f] Printed from a MS. in Mr. Oldys's life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 165.

He ſpent a great part of his confinement in writing that noble and immortal monument of his parts and learning, *The Hiſtory of the World*; wherein he has ſhewn that he conſulted the wiſe rule of *Horace*, and fixed upon ſuch a ſubject as ſuited with his genius, and under which, if we may gueſs from former and ſubſequent attempts, any genius but his muſt have ſunk. He likewiſe devoted a part of his time to chemiſtry, to rational and uſeful chemiſtry, wherein he was no leſs ſucceſsful, diſcovering that noble medicine in malignant fevers, which bears the name of his *Cordial*, though I think it is now doubtful, whether the true receipt of it be preſerved or not [s]. Beſides theſe, he turned his thoughts on various other ſubjects, all beneficial to mankind, and in that light worthy of ſir *Walter Ralegh*. Of theſe treatiſes many are printed; ſome are ſtill preſerved in MS. and not a few, I doubt, are loſt. The patron of his ſtudies was prince *Henry*, the glory of the houſe of *Stuart*, the darling of the *Britiſh* nation while he lived, and the object of its ſincere and univerſal lamentation, by his untimely death. After his demiſe, ſir *Walter* depended chiefly upon the queen, in whom he found a true and ſteady protectreſs, while the earl of *Somerſet*'s power laſted, whoſe hate was chiefly detrimental to *Ralegh*; for the king truſted him now, as he had *Saliſbury* before, with implicit confidence, even after he had loſt his affection: but he, by an intemperate uſe of his authority, having rendered himſelf

[s] See an excellent and copious account of his writings in the life before-cited. Dr. Quincy, in his diſpenſary, p. 445, 446. of the eleventh edition, ſeems to undervalue this medicine, chiefly on account of the number of ingredients; but Mr. Oldys ſhews, in his life of ſir Walter, p. 169, that great liberties have been taken with this receipt, and the number of ingredients heightened by phyſicians.

ſelf obnoxious to the law, ſir *Walter* ſaw him his companion in the *Tower*, and his eſtates, by that favourite's forfeiture, once more in the hands of the crown [h]. His enemy thus out of the court, ſir *Walter* was able to obtain the favour he had been long ſeeking, which was after thirteen years confinement, to get out of the *Tower*; not to lead a lazy and indolent life in retirement, for which, though cruelly ſpoiled by his enemies, he yet wanted not a reaſonable proviſion; but to ſpend the latter part of his days, as he had ſpent the firſt, in the purſuit of honour, and in the ſervice of his country; or, as he himſelf has with great dignity expreſſed it in a letter to ſecretary *Winwood*, by whoſe intereſt chiefly this favour was obtained, *To die for the* KING, *and not by the* KING, *is all the ambition I have in the world* [i].

THE ſcheme he had now at heart, was his old one, of ſettling *Guiana*; a ſcheme worthy of him, and which, as he firſt wiſely contrived, ſo he as conſtantly proſecuted. We have ſeen how many voyages he encouraged thither in the days of queen *Elizabeth*, when conſidering the many great employments he enjoyed, one would have thought his mind might have been otherwiſe occupied; and, indeed, ſo it muſt have been, if he had not been thoroughly perſuaded, and that too upon the beſt evidence in the world, his own eye-ſight and judgment, that this was the richeſt country in the world, and the worthieſt of being ſettled, for the benefit of *Britain*. This perſuaſion was ſo ſtrong upon him, that during his confinement, he held a conſtant intercourſe with *Guiana*, ſending at his own charge, every

[h] Prince Henry endeavoured to obtain it for him. At laſt ſir Walter had 8000 l. for it, as he tells us in his apology, p. 47.
[i] Ralegh's remains, p. 164.

every year, or every ſecond year, a ſhip, to keep the *Indians* in hopes of his performing the promiſe he had made them of coming to their aſſiſtance, and delivering them from the tyranny and cruelty of the *Spaniards*, who now encroached upon them again. In theſe ſhips were brought over ſeveral natives of that country, with whom ſir *Walter* converſed in the *Tower*, and from whom, queſtionleſs, he received the cleareſt, and moſt diſtinct intelligence of the ſituation and richneſs of the mines, that he could poſſibly deſire [k]. Upon theſe informations, he offered the ſcheme, for proſecuting his diſcovery to the court, three years before he undertook it in perſon; nor was there then any doubt, either as to the probability of the thing, or as to its lawfulneſs, notwithſtanding the peace made with *Spain*; otherwiſe the king would not have made ſuch grants as he did, even at that time: which ſhews that he was then convinced ſir *Walter* had in his firſt voyage diſcovered, and taken poſſeſſion of that country for the crown of *England*; and that conſequently, his ſubjects were juſtly entitled to any benefits that might accrue from this diſcovery, without the leaſt reſpect had to the pretenſions of the *Spaniards* [l]. It may alſo deſerve our notice, that at the time ſir *Walter* firſt moved the court upon this ſubject, the *Spaniſh* match was not thought of: but the wants of king *James* were then very preſſing, and he may reaſonably be preſumed to have at this time placed as great hopes in this diſcovery, as he did in that match; though when he came to idolize this project afterwards, he grew ſomewhat out of conceit with ſir *Walter*'s; ſo that if he had pleaſed,

[k] Ralegh's apology, p. 52, 55.

[l] See Hartcourt's voyage to Guiana, 4to. 1613.

pleaſed, he might, for 700*l.* have had an ample pardon, and leave to relinquiſh his voyage: but he remaining firm to his purpoſe, and the king feeling his neceſſities daily increaſe, was yet willing that he ſhould proceed in his enterprize, in hopes of profiting thereby, without loſing the proſpect he then had of concluding the *Spaniſh* match. Such was the ſituation of ſir *Walter*, and ſuch the diſpoſition of the court, when he obtained leave to execute his deſign, and was empowered by a royal commiſſion (but at the expence of himſelf and his friends) to ſettle *Guiana* [m].

It has been a great diſpute, amongſt writers too of ſome eminence, what ſort of a commiſſion that was, with which ſir *Walter* was truſted. According to ſome, it ſhould have been under the great ſeal of *England*, and directed, to our truſty and well-beloved ſir *Walter Ralegh*, knight [n]; according to others, and indeed, according to the account given by king *James* himſelf, it was under the privy ſeal, and without thoſe expreſſions of truſt or grace [o]. To end this diſpute, I have conſulted the moſt authentic collection we have of public inſtruments, and there I find a large commiſſion to ſir *Walter Ralegh*, which agrees with that in the declaration [p], and is dated the 26th of *Auguſt*, in the 14th year of the king's reign over *England*, and over *Scotland* the 50th. It is likewiſe ſaid to be, *per breve de privato Sigillo*; yet I think, that it is not impoſſible it might paſs both ſeals, and I apprehend the conjecture is warranted by

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[m] Camden's annals of king James, A. D. 1615, 1617. [n] Coke's detection of the four laſt reigns, p. 85. Rapin's hiſtory of England, and Tindal's notes. [o] See a declaration of the demeanour and carriage of ſir Walter Ralegh, knt. as well in his voyage, &c. 4to. 1618, p. 4. [p] Rymer's fœdera, tom. xvi. p. 789.

by an expreſſion in one of ſir *Walter*'s letters [q]. However, the commiſſion was certainly a legal commiſſion, and though the formal expreſſions of grace and truſt are omitted, yet the powers granted him are very extenſive in themſelves, and as ſtrongly drawn as words can expreſs; ſo that ſir *Walter*, had all the reaſon imaginable, to conceive, that this patent implied a pardon. By one clauſe, he is conſtituted general and commander in chief in this enterprize. By another, he is appointed governor of the new country he is to ſettle; and this, with ample authority. By a third, he has a power rarely intruſted with our admirals now, that of exerciſing martial law, in ſuch a manner, as the king's lieutenant-general by ſea or land, or any of the lieutenants of the counties of *England* had. It is impoſſible, therefore, to conceive, that when this commiſſion was granted, ſir *Walter Ralegh* was looked upon as a condemned man; or that the lords of the privy council, or the lord privy-ſeal, could think it reaſonable, for the king to grant ſuch full power over the lives of others, to one who had but a precarious title to his own; and therefore, I think, that ſir *Francis Bacon*'s opinion, when ſir *Walter* conſulted him, whether it would not be adviſeable for him to give a round ſum of money, for a pardon in common form, anſwered like an honeſt man, and a ſound lawyer: *ſir, the* knee-timber *of your voyage is* money: *ſpare your* Purſe, *in this particular, for upon my life, you have a ſufficient* pardon *for all that is paſt already, the king having under his* broad ſeal, *made you* ADMIRAL *of your* FLEET, *and given you power of the* martial law *over your* officers *and* ſoldiers [r].

[q] Oldys's life of ſir Water Ralegh, p. 193. [r] Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 371.

IT is now time for us to enquire what force this gentleman had, when he ſailed upon this expedition; for it appears clearly by the king's commiſſion, that the whole expence of the undertaking, was to be defrayed by him and his friends: which ſhews, how ſincere ſir *Walter* muſt have been in this matter, eſpecially if we conſider, that he veſted his whole fortune therein, and even prevailed upon his wife to ſell her eſtate at *Mitcham*, for the promoting this deſign; in the iſſue of which, he intereſted alſo all his friends; and how extenſive his influence in this kind, was, the following liſt of his fleet will ſufficiently inform us. Firſt then, was the admiral, a fine, new, ſtout ſhip, built by *Ralegh* himſelf, called, *The Deſtiny*, of the Burden of 440 tons, and carrying 36 pieces of cannon. On board it were ſir *Walter Ralegh* general, and his ſon *Walter* captain, beſides 200 men, whereof 80 were gentlemen-voluntiers and adventurers, moſt of them ſir *Walter*'s relations; which number was afterwards encreaſed. Second, *The Jaſon* of *London*, 240 tons, and 25 pieces of ordnance, captain *John Pennington* vice-admiral, 80 men, one gentleman and no more. Third, *The Encounter*, 160 tons, 17 pieces of ordnance, *Edward Haſtings* captain [no man more, except the maſter, mentioned] but he dying in the *Indies*, was ſucceeded in the command by captain *Whitney*. Fourth, *The Thunder*, 150 tons, 20 pieces of ordnance, ſir *Warham Sentleger* captain, 6 gentlemen, 60 ſoldiers, and 10 land-men. Fifth, *The Flying Joan*, 120 tons, 14 pieces of ordnance, *John Chidley* captain, 25 men. Sixth, *The Southampton*, 80 tons, 6 pieces of ordnance, *John Bayly* captain, 25 mariners, 2 gentlemen. Seventh, *The Page*, a pinace, 25 tons, 3 rabnets of braſs, *James Barker* captain, 8 ſailors. But before *Ralegh* left the coaſt of *England*, he was joined by as many ſhips more; ſo that his

his whole fleet consisted of thirteen sail, besides his own ship. And though we cannot be so particular in the remaining part, we may yet learn thus much of it; that one ship, named *The Convertine*, was commanded by captain *Keymis*; another, called *The Confidence*, was under the charge of captain *Woolaston*; there was a shallop, named *The Flying Hart*, under sir *John Ferne*; two fly-boats, under captain *Samuel King*, and captain *Robert Smith*; and a *Caravel*, with perhaps another, named *The Chudley*, besides[a].

WITH part of this fleet, sir *Walter* sailed from the *Thames* on the 28th of *March*, 1617; but it was the month of *July*, before he left *Plymouth*, with his whole fleet: after which, he was forced to put into *Cork*, through stress of weather, and remained there till the 19th of *August*. On the 6th of *September*, he made the *Canaries*, where he obtained some refreshments, and an ample certificate from the governor, that he had behaved with great justice and equity. Thence he proceeded to *Guiana*, where he arrived in the beginning of *November*. He was received with the utmost joy by the *Indians*, who not only rendered him all the service that could be expected from them, but would have persuaded him to end all his labours by remaining there, and taking upon him the sovereignty of their country; which, however, he refused. His extreme sickness hindered him from undertaking the discovery of the mine in person, and obliged him to intrust that important service to captain *Keymis*. For this purpose, he ordered, on the 4th of *December*, five small ships to sail into the river *Orenoque*; aboard these five vessels, were five companies of fifty men each; the first commanded by captain *Parker*,

[a] Oldys's life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 197.

the ſecond by captain *North*, the third by Mr. *Raleigh*, the fourth by captain *Prideux*, the fifth by captain *Chidley*[t]; *Keymis*, who was to conduct them, intended to have gone to the mine with only eight perſons, which ſir *Walter* thought too great a hazard, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

" *KEYMIS*, whereas you were reſolved, after your " arrival into the *Orenoque*, to paſs to the mine with my " couſin *Herbert* and ſix muſqueteers, and to that end, " deſired to have Sir *John Ferne*'s ſhallop; I do not allow " of that courſe, becauſe you cannot land ſo ſecretly, but " that ſome *Indians* on the river-ſide may diſcover you, " who giving knowlege thereof to the *Spaniards*, you may " be cut off before you recover your boat. I therefore " adviſe you to ſuffer the captains and companies of the " *Engliſh* to paſs up weſtward of the mountain *Aio*, from " whence you have no leſs than three miles to the mine, " and to encamp between the *Spaniſh* town and you, if " there is any town near it; that being ſo ſecured, you " may make trial what depth and breadth the mine holds, " or whether or no it will anſwer our hopes. And if you " find it royal, and the *Spaniards* begin to war upon you, " then let the ſerjeant-major repel them, if it is in his " power, and drive them as far as he can: but if you find " the mine is not ſo rich as to perſuade the holding of it, " and it requires a ſecond ſupply, then ſhall you bring " but a baſket or two, to ſatisfy his majeſty that my " deſign was not imaginary, but true, though not an- " ſwerable to his majeſty's expectation; for the quantity " of which I never gave aſſurance, nor could. On the " other ſide, if you ſhall find any great number of ſol- " diers

[t] Raleghs apology for his voyage to Guiana, p. 26.

"diers are newly ſent into the *Orenoque*, as the "*Coſſique* of *Caliana* told us there were, and that "the paſſages are already enforced, ſo as without "manifeſt peril of my ſon, yourſelf, and the other "captains, you cannot paſs towards the mine; then be "well adviſed how you land, for I know (that a few "gentlemen excepted) what a ſcum of men you have; "and I would not, for all the world, receive a blow "from the *Spaniards* to the diſhonour of the nation."[a]

IN obedience to this order, captain *Keymis* landed his men in the night, ſomewhat nearer the mine than he intended. They preſently found, the *Spaniards* had notice of their coming, and were prepared to receive them. They ſhot at the *Engliſh* both with their great and ſmall arms, and the *Spaniards* being the aggreſſors, the *Engliſh* landed, drove them to the town, entered it with them, and plundered it. Mr. *Raleigh*, the general's ſon, was killed in the action; he himſelf ſtaid at *Trinidado*, with the other ſhips, reſolving rather to burn, than yield, had the *Spaniſh Armada* attacked him. Captain *Keymis* made up the river with his veſſels; but in moſt places near the mine, he could not get within a mile of the ſhore, the river was ſo ſhallow; and where they could have made a deſcent, vollies of muſket ſhot came from the woods on their boats, and *Keymis* did not proceed to the mine, ſaying in his excuſe, that the *Engliſh* could not defend St. *Thomas*, the town they had taken; that the paſſages to the mine were thick and impaſſible woods, and that ſuppoſing they had diſcovered the mine, they had no men to work it. For theſe reaſons he

concluded

[a] Ibid p 21.

concluded it was beſt not to open it all. The *Spaniards* themſelves had ſeveral gold and ſilver mines near the town, which were uſeleſs for want of negroes [w]. At *Keymis's* return, *Raleigh* told him, he had undone him, and wounded his credit with the king, paſt recovery; which reproach affected him ſo deeply, that he went into his cabin, from whence, ſoon after, the report of a piſtol was heard. Upon a boy's going in, and aſking whether he knew whence it proceeded, he ſaid, he fired it himſelf, becauſe it had been long charged. About two hours after, he was found dead with a great deal of blood under him; and upon ſearch it was diſcovered, he had firſt ſhot himſelf, and the wound not proving mortal, he had thruſt a knife after the ball [x]. Sir *Walter*, when he heard his ſon was ſlain, ſaid, that he mattered not the loſing of a hundred men, ſo his reputation had been ſaved. He was afraid of incurring the king's diſpleaſure, and with grief and ſickneſs brought very low in his health. He is blamed for not going up the river himſelf, which his indiſpoſition would not ſuffer him to do. Nine weeks was *Keymis* ſearching the river, all which time his maſter ſtaid at *Punta de Gallo*, nearer death than life: yet the misfortunes and diſappointments he met with, did not alter his reſolution of returning home, though ſeveral of his men were for landing and ſettling themſelves at *Newfoundland*; others were for going to *Holland*; but the major part of his company were of his own opinion, to come back to *England*, happen what would: ſo rather like a priſoner than general, he

[w] See Raleigh's letter to his lady in his remains. p. 178. See alſo his apology, and Camden's annals of the reign of King James.

[x] See Ralegh's apology, p. 39. and Howel's letters.

he arrived with his leaky ships, first at *Kingsale*, in *Ireland*, and then at *Plymouth* [y].

IMMEDIATELY after his coming to *Ireland*, a proclamation issued, setting forth the King's disapprobation of Sir *Walter*'s conduct, and requiring such as were acquainted with any particulars, relating either to his scheme, or to his practices, should give information of them to the council. This proclamation was dated the 11th of *June* [z], and though it pretends to refer to Sir *Walter*'s commission, yet it plainly mentions, things, which are not to be found there. In the beginning of the month of *July*, Sir *Walter* landed at *Plymouth*, and hearing of this proclamation, resolved to surrender himself; but as he was on the road to *London* [a], he was met by Sir *Lewis Stucley*, vice-admiral of *Devonshire*, and his own kinsman, whom the court had made choice of to bring him up a prisoner [b]. This man appears to have acted very deceitfully, for he either suggested, or at least encouraged, a design Sir *Walter* had framed for making his escape, and when he had so done, he basely betrayed him. It was then objected to sir *Walter*, that he meant to convey himself to *France*, and had actually entered into some unjustifiable correspondence with the *French* king; but in reality all that sir *Walter* intended was to have gone back again to *Guiana*, in order to efface the memory of his late miscarriage,

y Ralegh's apology, and king James declaration. z Rymer's Fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 92. a See captain King's narrative a MS. quoted by Mr. Oluys. b Stucley's petition and information, touching his own behaviour in the charge of bringing up sir Walter Ralegh, 4to. 1618. Camden's annals of king James, A. D. 1618.

by a happier undertaking [c]. On his ſecond apprehenſion, he was carried to the *Tower*, from whence it was already ſettled he ſhould never be releaſed but by death. It was the earneſtneſs of the *Spaniſh* court, by their inſtrument count *Gondemar*, produced this heat in the *Engliſh* councils [d]; and yet if we ſtrictly conſider the matter, we ſhall find that the violence with which the *Spaniſh* court drove this proſecution, is one of the ſtrongeſt proofs that can be alledged in favour of ſir *Walter*'s ſcheme; for if *Guiana* was a place of no conſequence, why were they ſo uneaſy about it? If ſir *Walter* had been no more than a projector, who ſought to reſtore his own broken fortunes by fleecing other people, as the calumny of thoſe times ſuggeſted, why was he not let alone? The more expeditions he made, the more clearly his folly would have appeared, and the greater advantage the *Spaniards* would have reaped from its appearance; becauſe it would have diſcountenanced all ſucceeding projects: but by thus contriving to murder him, they muſt, in the opinion of every impartial judge, raiſe the credit of his project, though they might fright people at that time from carrying it into execution. In ſhort, the *Spaniards* knew what ſir *Walter*'s friends believed; the latter confided in him, the former were poſitive as he was; becauſe they knew by experience, that *Guiana* was rich in gold, and that, if it was once thoroughly ſettled by the *Engliſh*, there would be an end of their empire in the *Weſt-Indies* [e]. But to return to ſir *Walter*.

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[c] See ſir Walter Ralegh's dying-ſpeech. [d] For this the reader may find numerous authorities in Oldys's life of ſir Walter Ralegh, p. 210. [e] This I have great reaſon to ſay, having conſulted many of the Spaniſh writers while I was compoſing the ſhort hiſtory of SPANISH AMERICA. Francis Co-

IT was not eaſy, though his death was already decreed, to take his life. His conduct in his late expedition, how criminal ſoever in the eyes of the court, was far from being ſo in the ſight of the nation; and, though judges could have been found who might pronounce it felony or treaſon, yet at that time of day, it was not eaſy to meet with a jury, who, taking this upon truſt, would find him guilty. The commiſſioners, therefore, who had been appointed to enquire into the matter, and who had over and over examined him, finally reported, that no ground of legal judgment could be drawn from what had paſſed in this late expedition [1]. Upon this, it was reſolved to call him down to judgment upon his former ſentence, which was accordingly done, with all the circumſtances of iniquity and brutality that can well be conceived. He was taken out of his bed in the hot fit of an ague, and ſo brought to the bar of the court of *King's-Bench*, where ſir *Henry Montague*, the chief juſtice, ordered the record of his conviction to be read, and then demanded, what he had to offer why execution ſhould not be awarded? To this ſir *Walter* pleaded his commiſſion, which was immediately overuled: next he would have juſtified his conduct in

real, one of the beſt and lateſt Spaniſh travellers, acknowledges this country to be very rich; and in the map printed with his travels, the place is marked where the lake of Parima, and the city of Manoa are ſuppoſed to be; and in the French tranſlation printed at Amſterdam in 1722. Sir Walter Raleigh's voyage to Guiana is added as a neceſſary ſupplement. Alſo in Sanſon's map, the lake of Parima and the city of Manoa are both viſible; ſo that if what is reported of them be fabulous, yet the opinion is is not hitherto exploded. In ſome De Liſle's Maps they are mentioned, for I have conſulted ſeveral, and what is more, there are ſeveral mines marked in this country, of which the Spaniards are ſtill ſuſpiciouſly careful.

[1] Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 572.

in *Guiana*, but that the court would not hear; and ſo execution was awarded, and the king's warrant for it produced, which had been ſigned and ſealed before-hand[c]. That this judgment was illegal, and that ſir *Walter* was really murdered, has been often ſaid, and I believe ſeldom doubted; but I think it has not been made ſo plain a it might be, and therefore, in gratitude to his memory I will attempt it, by ſhewing, that the judgment was abſolutely illegal, as well as it was manifeſtly iniquitous.

It is a maxim in our law, that *The king can do no wrong*; and moſt certain it is, that no king can do *legal wrong*, that is to ſay, can employ the law to unjuſt purpoſes. Sir *Walter Raleigh* after his conviction was *dead in law*, and therefore, if king *James*'s commiſſion to him had not the virtue of a *pardon*, what was it? Did it empower a *dead man* to *act*, and not only to *act*, but to have a power over the lives and eſtates of the *living*? It either conveyed *authority*, or it *did not*. If it did *convey authority*, then ſir *Walter* was capable of *receiving it*; that is, he was no longer *dead* in *law*, or, in other words, he was *pardoned*. If it conveyed *no authority*, then this was an act of *legal wrong*. I cannot help the blunder; the abſurdity is in the thing, and not in my expreſſion. A commiſſion under the *privy*, if not under the *great ſeal*, granted by the king, with the *advice* of his *council*, to a *dead man*; or, to put it otherwiſe, a *lawful commiſſion* given to a man *dead in law*, is *nonſence* not to be endured, and therefore to avoid this, we muſt conceive as ſir *Francis Bacon*, and every other lawyer did, that the commiſſion included a *pardon*. Indeed the ſame thing may be

[c] Rymer's fœdera, tom. xvii. p. 115.

be made out in much fewer words. *Grace* is not ſo ſtrong a mark of *royal favour* as *truſt*; and therefore, where the *latter* appears, the law ought, and indeed does, *preſume* the *former*. This judgment, therefore, did not only *murder* ſir *Walter Raleigh*, but in this inſtance *ſubverted* the *conſtitution*, and ought to be looked upon, not only as an act of the baſeſt proſtitution, but as the moſt flagrant violation of juſtice that ever was committed.

As the method of bringing him to his death, was violent and unjuſt, ſo the manner was haſty and inhuman. The very next day, being *Thurſday* the 29th of *October*, and the lord-mayor's day, ſir *Walter* was carried by the ſheriffs of *Middleſex*, to ſuffer in the *Old-Palace-Yard*. We have many accounts of his death, and particularly one written by doctor *Robert Tounſon*, then dean of *Weſtminſter*, afterwards biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who aſſiſted him in his laſt moments [h]. He tells us, that he had ſuch a contempt of death, as ſurprized this divine, who expoſtulated with him thereupon. Sir *Walter* told him plainly, that he never feared death, and much leſs then, for which he bleſſed god; that as to the manner of it, though to others it might ſeem grievous, yet for himſelf, he had rather die ſo, than in a burning fever. That this was the effect of chriſtian courage: he convinced the doctor himſelf, *and I think*, ſays he, *all the ſpectators at his death*. He ſaid nothing as to the old plot, but juſtified himſelf fully as to what had been

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[h] This account is contained in a letter from dean Tounſon, to ſir John Iſham of Lamport in Northamptonſhire, dated Weſtminſter college, Nov. 9. 1618, which is ſtill preſerved in the family. The dean ſays, a very particular account of all that paſſed at ſir Walter's death, was written by one Mr. Craford, and deſigned for the preſs; himſelf, having read and approved it; but whether this ever was publiſhed, I cannot ſay.

lately objected against him. The doctor having put him in mind of the earl of *Essex*, he said, that lord was taken off by a trick; which he told the doctor privately, but is not set down by him. Sir *Walter* eat his breakfast heartily that morning, smoaked his pipe, and made no more of death, says my author, than if he had been to take a journey [j]. On the scaffold he conversed freely with some of the nobility, who were there to see him die; justified himself clearly from all imputations, and like a man of true honour, vindicated his loyalty, even to that pusillanimous prince, who thus sacrificed him to the *Spaniards* [k]. Dean *Tounson* observes, that every body gave credit to what sir *Walter* said at his death, which rendered sir *Lewis Stukley*, and the *Frenchman* who betrayed him, extremely odious. As to the latter, I know not what became of him; but as to the former, he was catched in *Whitehall*, clipping the gold bestowed upon him for this infamous act, tried and condemned for it, and having stripped himself to his shirt, to raise wherewith to purchase a pardon, he went to hide himself in the island of *Lundy*, where he died, both mad and a beggar, in less than two years after sir *Walter Ralegh* [l].

THIS end had our illustrious hero, when he had lived sixty-six years [m]. We have insisted too long upon his life, to

[j] See an account of his death at the end of sir Thomas Overbury's arraignment of sir Walter Ralegh, as also joined to his remains; but the particulars above-mentioned, are in dean Tounson's account. [k] The most accurate copy of this speech, is in Mr. Oldys's life of sir Walter Ralegh, p. 228. [l] Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 94. Frankland's annals of king James and king Charles I. p. 32. Howel's letters, vol. ii. p. 372. Camden's annals of king James, A. D. 1620. [m] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 539, &c. Camden's annals, A. D. 1618.

to be under any neceſſity of dwelling upon his character, of which he who would frame a right opinion, muſt conſider attentively his actions and his writings. He raiſed himſelf to honour while living, and has ſecured an endleſs reputation after death, by a ſeries of noble and generous atchievments, he acted in very different capacities, and excelled in all. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a ſoldier by his courage, by his conduct as a commander; a bold ſailor, a hearty friend to ſeamen, and yet no admiral maintained better diſcipline; a wiſe ſtateſman, a profound ſcholar, a learned and withal a practical philoſopher. In regard to his private life, a beneficent maſter, a kind huſband, an affectionate father, and in reſpect to the world, a warm friend, a pleaſant companion, and a fine gentleman. In a word, he may be truly ſtiled the *Engliſh Xenophon*; for no man of his age, did things more worthy of being recorded, and no man was more able to record them than himſelf; inſomuch, that we may ſay of him, as *Scaliger* did of *Caeſar, that he fought, and wrote, with the ſame inimitable ſpirit.* And thus I take my leave of one, whom it is impoſſible to praiſe enough.

As to the other ſeamen of note in this reign, they are either ſuch as have been already ſpoken of, or, living alſo in the next, may more regularly be mentioned there. I ſhall, therefore, conclude this chapter with obſerving, that the death of ſir *Walter Ralegh* was ſo diſtaſteful an act to the whole nation, that the court, to wipe off the odium, thought proper to publiſh a declaration [a], wherein, as it pretended, the true motives and real cauſes of his death were

[a] A declaration of the demeanour of ſir Walter Ralegh, knt. 4to. 1618.

were contained. But this piece was ſo far from anſwering the end for which it was ſent abroad, that it really ſerved to juſtify ſir *Walter*, even beyond his own apology [a]. After this, king *James* granted a new commiſſion for ſettling *Guiana*, which ſhews his abſolute ſenſe of our having a right to it [b], and demonſtrates alſo the falſhood of that report, that ſir *Walter* deviſed his ſettlement of *Guiana* only to repair his loſſes through his impriſonment. In other caſes, the king was kind enough to ſuch as projected diſcoveries and ſettlements; but taking all things in the lights his ſeveral favourites ſet them, he was ſometimes dilatory, and always unſteady. As to *Buckingham*'s management, within whoſe province, as lord high-admiral, theſe things principally lay, we ſhall be obliged to treat of it in the next chapter, to which it is time we ſhould proceed.

[a] Francis Oſborne's traditional memoirs of king James, p. 71.

[b] About a year after ſir Walter's death, king James granted a commiſſion to captain Roger North, to ſettle a colony in Guiana, Mr. Oldys's life of ſir Walter Raleigh, p. 223.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN, *under the reign of* Charles I. *comprehending an account of our naval expeditions against the* French *and* Spaniards, *our differences with the* Dutch *about the right of fishing, and our dominion over the* British *sea; the progress of trade and navigation, settling colonies, and other maritime transactions within that compass of time; together with an account of the eminent seamen who flourished therein.*

UPON the demise of king *James*, his only son *Charles* prince of *Wales* succeeded him, not only quietly, but with the general approbation of his subjects [a]. He was in the flower of his age, had shewn himself a person of great abilities, and after the breaking of the *Spanish* match, had rendered himself for a time very popular by his conduct [b]. His father left him much incumbered at the time of his decease; for, the government was deeply in debt, a war with *Spain* was just begun, and his prime minister, I mean the duke of *Buckingham*, who had been likewise his father's, was generally

[a] Frankland's annals, p. 107. Clarendon, Whitlock, Warwick, Welwood. [b] Frankland's annals, p. 93.

rally hated [c]. In this ſituation, every thing was ſubject to wrong conſtructions. Eight thouſand men, raiſed for the ſervice of the *Palatinate*, were ordered to rendezvous at *Plymouth*, and in their paſſage thither, coat and conduct-money, were demanded of the country, to be repaid out of the *Exchequer*. The behaviour of theſe troops was very licentious, and the long continuance of peace, made it appear ſtill a greater grievance. The clamour thereupon grew high, and the king, to remedy this evil, granted a commiſſion for executing martial law, which, inſtead of being conſidered as a remedy, was taken for a new grievance, more heavy than any of the reſt [d]. The truth was, that while *Buckingham* remained in the king's council, all things were attributed to him, and the nation ſo prejudiced againſt him, that whatever was reputed to be done by him, was held a grievance; and though no man ſaw this more clearly than the king, yet by an infatuation, not eaſily to be accounted for, he truſted him as much, and loved him much more than his father had ever done.

THE king's marriage with the princeſs *Henrietta-Maria*, daughter to *Henry* IV. of *France*, had been concluded in the life-time of king *James*, and after his deceaſe, the king was married to her by proxy. In the month of *June*, 1625, *Buckingham* went to attend her with the royal navy, and brought her to *Dover*; from thence ſhe went to *Canterbury*, where the marriage was conſummated; and on the 16th of the ſame month, their majeſties entered *London* privately, the plague daily encreaſing

[c] Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 14. [d] Ruſhworth, Frankland, Clarendon, &c.

encreaſing in the ſuburbs *. It was not long before an unfortunate tranſaction rendered this marriage diſagreeable to the nation, and as this related to the navy, it falls particularly under our cognizance; which we ſhall handle the more at large, becauſe in moſt of our general hiſtories, it is treated very confuſedly.

THE marquiſs *d'Effiat*, ambaſſador from *France*, to king *James*, had repreſented to his majeſty, that the power of the catholic king in *Italy* was dangerous to all *Europe*; that his maſter was equally inclined with his *Britannic* majeſty, to pull it down; but wanting a ſufficient maritime force, was deſirous of borrowing from his majeſty a few ſhips, to enable him to execute the deſign he had formed againſt *Genoa*. To this the king condeſcended, and it was agreed, that the great *Neptune*, a man of war, commanded by ſir *Ferdinando Gorges*, and ſix merchant-ſhips, each of between 3 and 400 tons burden, ſhould be lent to the *French*; but ſoon after this agreement, the *Rochellers* made an application here, ſignifying, that they had juſt grounds to apprehend, that this *Engliſh* ſquadron would be employed for deſtroying the proteſtant intereſt in *France*, inſtead of pulling down the king of *Spain*'s power in *Italy*. The duke of *Buckingham* knowing that this would be little reliſhed by captain *Pennington*, who was to go admiral of the fleet, and the owners of the ſhips, he gave them private inſtructions, contrary to the public contract with *France*, whereby they were directed not to ſerve againſt *Rochelle*; but upon their coming into a *French* port, in the month of *May*, they were told by

* Stowe's Annals, continued by Edmond Howes, p. 1041, Frankland's Annals, p 108. Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 4.

the duke of *Montmorency*, that they were intended to ſerve, and ſhould ſerve againſt *Rochelle*; upon which, the ſailors on board the fleet, ſigned, what is called by them, *a round Robin*, that is, a paper containing their reſolution not to engage in that ſervice, with their names ſubſcribed in a circle, that it might not be diſcerned who ſigned firſt. *Pennington* upon this, fairly ſailed away with the whole ſquadron, and returned into the *Downs* in the beginning of *July*, from whence he ſent a letter to the duke of *Buckingham*, deſiring to be excuſed from that ſervice. The duke, without acquainting the king, or conſulting the council, directed lord *Conway*, then ſecretary of ſtate, to write a letter to captain *Pennington*, commanding him to put all the ſhips into the hands of the *French*. This, however, not taking effect, the duke ſurreptitiouſly, and without the king's knowing any thing of the deſign upon *Rochelle*, procured his letter to captain *Pennington*, to the ſame effect. Upon this, in the month of *Auguſt*, he ſailed a ſecond time to *Diep*, where according to his inſtructions, the merchants ſhips were delivered to the *French*; but ſir *Ferdinando Gorges*, who commanded the king's ſhip, weighed anchor, and put to ſea: and ſo honeſt were all the ſeamen on board theſe ſhips, that, except one gunner, they all quitted them, and returned to *England*; but as for the ſhips, they remained with the *French*, and were actually made uſe of againſt *Rochelle*, contrary to the king's intention, and to the very high diſhonour of the nation. This affair made a great noiſe, and came at laſt to form an article in an impeachment againſt the duke of *Buckingham* [f].

In

[f] Frankland's Annals, p. 156. Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 6. See alſo capt. John Pennington's letter to the

In the mean time the deſign went on of invading *Spain*, and a ſtout fleet was provided for that purpoſe; but as *Buckingham*, in quality of lord high-admiral, had the ſupreme direction of that affair, the nation looked upon it with an evil eye, and were not ſo much diſpleaſed at its miſcarriage, as glad of an opportunity of railing at the duke, and thoſe, who by his procurement, were intruſted with the command of the fleet, and the forces on board it [s]. The whole of this tranſaction has been very differently related, according to the humours of thoſe who penned the accounts; however, there are very authentic memoirs remaining, and from theſe I ſhall give as conciſe and impartial a detail of the whole affair as I can, which will ſhew how dangerous a thing it is, for princes to employ perſons generally diſagreeable to their ſubjects, an error by which they tranſfer the reſentment attending their miſcarriages upon themſelves.

The war with *Spain* was chiefly of the duke of *Buckingham*'s procuring, and ſeems to have proceeded more from his perſonal diſtaſte to count *Olivarez*, than any ſolid or honourable motive; however, after the war was begun, it ought certainly to have been proſecuted, becauſe, though he acted from private pique, and at a time when it viſibly ſerved his own particular purpoſes, yet without queſtion, the nation had been grievouſly injured

the duke of Buckingham, from on board the Vantguard in the Downs, July 27, 1625, in the Cabala, p. 350. But the moſt diſtinct account is to be gathered out of the ſeventh and eighth articles of the impeachment exhibited againſt the duke of Buckingham by the houſe of commons, in 1626, and the ſpeech of Mr. Glanvill, on the ſaid articles. [s] Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth, Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, Kennet, Rapin.

by the *Spaniards*, and there were therefore ſufficient grounds for taking all the advantages our naval power, and our alliance with the *Dutch*, gave us, as well as the weakneſs of the enemy, and their firm perſuaſion, that whatever we might pretend, we ſhould not actually commit hoſtilities. But, though it was his own war, though he had engaged the king to proſecute it with much heat, to draw together a great fleet, and a conſiderable body of forces, which were to embark on board it; yet when all things were ready, and the fleet on the point of going to ſea, the duke declined the command, and reſolved to ſend another perſon in his ſtead, which was of very ill conſequence to the whole deſign [h].

Sir *Edward Cecil*, grandſon to the great lord *Burleigh*, was the peſon made choice of for this command; an old ſoldier, it is true, but no ſeaman, and therefore not at all qualified for the ſupreme direction of ſuch an undertaking [i]. The earls of *Eſſex* and *Denbigh* were appointed his vice and rear-admirals; and that he might be the fitter to command men of ſuch quality, he was created baron of *Putney*, and viſcount *Wimbleton*, and had likewiſe the rank given him of lord marſhal [k]. It was thought ſtrange, that though there wanted not many able ſeamen, ſuch as ſir *Robert Manſel*, ſir *William Monſon*, and others, yet none of them were intruſted, but merely ſuch as were in the duke's favour, which was both an unreaſonable and an impolitic thing. The force employed was very conſiderable

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[h] Frankland's Annals, p. 114. Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 196. Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 12, 13. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 15. Baker, Welwood, Rapin. [i] Collins's Peerage, vol. ii. p. 140. [k] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 12.

derable, *viz.* eighty ſhips, *Engliſh* and *Dutch*, and ten good regiments; neither was it improbable, that if matters had been well concerted, and properly executed, this expedition might have turned to the benefit of the nation, and the honour of the king and his miniſtry. The *Spaniſh* plate-fleet was then returning home with above a million on board; and if they had gone to *Tercera*, they muſt infallibly have been maſters of them, and by the deſtruction of fifty or ſixty galleons, had diſabled the maritime power of *Spain*, for at leaſt a century. But the fleet did not ſail till *October*, and then they went upon no ſettled ſcheme, but all was left to the diſcretion of men, who in reality were no fit judges of ſuch matters, and beſides, were in point of opinion divided among themſelves [1].

THE general ſailed from *Plymouth* the ſeventh of *October*, 1625; but when the fleet was got ſome leagues to ſea, their ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, ſo that they were many days before they got together at their appointed rendezvous off cape *Vincent*. On the 19th of *October*, a council was held, wherein it was reſolved to attack *Cadiz*, which accordingly they did on the 22d of *October*. My lord *Eſſex* ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen good ſhips riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies; theſe he bravely attacked, but for want of proper orders, and due aſſiſtance, the *Spaniſh* ſhips were ſuffered to retire to *Port-Real*, whither the lord marſhal did not think fit to follow them. Then ſome thouſands of ſoldiers were landed, and the fort of *Puntall* was taken;

[1] See a copious account of the motives to, and miſcarriages in this voyage, by ſir William Monſon in his Naval Tracts.

after which, they proceeded to make ſome attempts upon the town. The ſoldiers unfortunately becoming maſters of too much wine, got exceſſively drunk, and became ſo careleſs, that if the enemy had known, or been vigilant enough to have taken this advantage, few of them had returned home. The fright into which this put their officers, engaged them to re-imbark their forces, and then it was concluded to cruize off cape St. *Vincent*, for the *Flota*. There the men grew ſickly, and by the ſtrangeſt management that ever was heard of, that is, diſtributing the ſick, under pretence of taking better care of them, two in each ſhip, the whole fleet was infected, and that to ſuch a degree, as ſcarce left them hands enough to bring it home. This, however, they performed in the month of *December*, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired leſs honour themſelves [m]; all which was foreſeen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left *England*. On their return, a charge was exhibited againſt the general, by the earl of *Eſſex*, and nine other officers of diſtinction; lord *Wimbleton* juſtified himſelf in a long anſwer to their charge. Both pieces are yet remaining, and ſerve only to demonſtrate that want of experience and unanimity, proved the ruin of this expedition [n]. Theſe proceedings increaſed the people's diſcontents, expoſed the duke if poſſible to ſtill greater odium, and leſſened the reputation

[m] See the ſeveral accounts of this voyage in the authors before cited. [n] Both the officers charge, and lord Wimbleton's anſwer are printed in Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. The reader who ſhall compare theſe with ſir William Monſon's reflections on this lord's conduct, will diſcern, that he is hardly and unjuſtly treated. Sir William arraigns him for calling councils when he ſhould have been acting; the officers accuſe him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth ſeems to be, he had no notion of a ſea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him,

putation of our naval force, which quickly produced numerous inconveniences.

WHILE the clamour ſtill ſubſiſted on the want of ſucceſs attending this fleet abroad, the duke of *Buckingham* fell into another error, in the execution of his office as lord high-admiral. He was vexed at the noiſe that had been made about the merchant-ſhips put into the hands of the *French*, and employed againſt *Rochelle* [o], and therefore took occaſion in the latter end of the year, 1626, to cauſe a *French* ſhip, called the St. *Peter* of *Havre de Grace*, to be arreſted. The pretence was, that it was laden with *Spaniſh* effects; which, however, the *French* denied, and aſſerted, that all the goods in the ſhip belonged to *French* merchants, or to *Engliſh* and *Dutch* [p]. Upon this a commiſſion was granted to hear evidence as to that point, and it appearing plainly, there was no juſt ground of ſeizure, the ſhip was ordered to be; and at laſt was releaſed, but not before the *French* king made ſome repriſals, which ſo irritated the nation, that this alſo was made an article in the duke's impeachment*. The matter, however, was comprized between the two kings, and the good correſpondence between their ſubjects for a time reſtored; but at the bottom, there was no cordial reconciliation: and ſo this quarrel, like a wound ill cured, broke quickly out again with worſe ſymptoms than before [q].

[o] Sir Philip Warwick accounts for this diſtaſte of the duke towards the French. He ſays, that cardinal Richlieu duped the Dutch and Engliſh, both, by pretending to execute a very feaſible ſcheme, for preventing the Spaniards ſending any ſupplies into Germany, and under that pretence, procuring their ſhips, and then uſing them againſt the Rochellers. [p] Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 28. * It is the fifth article of the impeachment; and the duke, in his anſwer drawn by ſir Nicholas Hide, juſtifies himſelf very plauſibly. [q] Ruſhworth, Frankland, Baker, Echard, Rapin.

THE war in which the king was engaged, in order to have procured the reſtitution of the *Palatinate* to his brother-in-law, had drawn him into a league with *Denmark*, which obliged him to ſend a ſquadron of ſhips to that king's aſſiſtance; and this being attended with little ſucceſs, he was called upon for further ſupplies. His parliaments all this time were little inclined to aſſiſt him, becauſe he would not part with *Buckingham*; and this obliged him to have recourſe to ſuch methods for ſupply, as his lawyers told him were juſtifiable. Amongſt the reſt, he obliged the ſea-ports to furniſh him with ſhips: of the city of *London* he demanded twenty, and of other places in proportion. The inhabitants thought this ſo hard, that many who had no immediate dependance on trade, were for quitting their reſidence in maritime places, and retiring up into the country. This conduct of theirs made the burden ſtill more intollerable upon thoſe who ſtaid behind, and the conſequence of their remonſtrances was a proclamation, requiring ſuch as had quitted the ſea-coaſt, to return immediately to their former dwellings: and this it was gave riſe to the firſt diſturbances in this unfortunate reign [r]. They were quickly increaſed by the raſh management of *Buckingham*, who, though he ſaw his maſter ſo deeply embarraſſed with the wars in which he was already engaged, yet plunged him into another with *France*, very precipitately, and againſt all the rules of true policy.

THE queen's *French* ſervants, who were all bigotted papiſts, had not only acted indiſcreetly in matters relating to their religion; but had likewiſe drawn the queen to take

[r] Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England.

take ſome very wrong, indeed ſome ridiculous and extravagant ſteps; upon which *Buckingham* engaged his majeſty to diſmiſs her *French* ſervants, which he did the firſt of *July* 1626, and then ſent the lord *Carleton* to repreſent his reaſons, for taking ſo quick a meaſure to the *French* king. That prince refuſed him audience, and to ſhew his ſenſe of the thing, immediately ſeized one hundred and twenty of our ſhips which were in his ports, and undertook the ſiege of *Rochelle*; though our king had acted but a little before, as a mediator between him and his proteſtant ſubjects. Upon this, the latter applied themſelves to king *Charles*, who ordered a fleet of thirty ſail to be equipped for their relief, and ſent it under the command of the earl of *Denbigh*: but this being ſo late in the year as the month of *October*, his lordſhip found it impracticable to execute his commiſſion, and ſo after continuing ſome time at ſea in hard weather, returned into port, which not only diſappointed the king's intention, but alſo blemiſhed his reputation; for the *Rochellers* began to ſuſpect the ſincerity of this deſign, and whether he really intended to aſſiſt them or not [9]. The duke of *Buckingham*, to put the thing out of diſpute, cauſed a great fleet to be drawn together the next year, and an army of ſeven thouſand men to be put on board it, reſolving to go himſelf as admiral and commander in chief. He ſailed from *Portſmouth* the twenty-ſeventh of *June*, and landed on the iſland of *Rhee*; though at firſt he intended to have made a deſcent on *Oleron*, and actually promiſed ſo much to the duke of *Soubize*, whom he ſent to *Rochelle*, to acquaint the inhabitants of his coming to their

[9] Ruſhworth, Frankland, Rapin.

their relief. They received this meſſage coldly; for the *French* king having corrupted ſome by his gold, and terrifying many more by his power, the *Rochellers* were now afraid to receive the very ſuccours they had demanded [t].

THE duke landed his troops on the laſt of *July*, not without ſtrong oppoſition from Mr. *de Toyras*, the *French* governor, whom he forced to retire, though with ſome loſs. Upon this occaſion the *Engliſh* fell into the ſame errors in conduct, which they had committed in the *Cadiz* expedition. The fort of *la pré*, which covered the landing-place, they neglected, though the *French* themſelves in their fright had ſlighted it, ſo that it might have been taken without any trouble; and was a place of ſo great conſequence, that if it had been in the hands of the *Engliſh* it would have prevented the *French* from introducing any ſupplies. At firſt, it is certain, the *French* court was exceedingly alarmed, and it is ſaid, the king fell ſick upon it; but their terrors quickly wore off, when they were informed that the duke had no great capacity as a commander, and withal, too much pride to take advice. The town of St. *Martin's* was quickly taken by the *Engliſh*, and his grace then inveſted the citadel; but gave evident proofs of his want of military ſkill in managing the ſiege. At firſt, he quartered his troops about the place without entrenching, which at laſt, however, he was forced to do; then he entered into conferences with the governor, and refuſing to communicate the ſubſtance of them to his officers, diſcouraged his own people, and enabled the *French* to deceive him by a ſham treaty; during which the fort received a ſupply. By this time the *Rochellers*

[t] Sir Richard Granville's Journal, p. 5.

Rochellers had declared for the *Engliſh*, their confidence being as unſeaſonable for themſelves, as their ſuſpicions had been before for the *Engliſh*; for this declaration of theirs, and the expectation he had of ſuccours from *England*, which were to be ſent him under the command of the earl of *Holland*, engaged *Buckingham* to remain ſo long in his camp, that his troops were much diminiſhed. At length, on the ſixth of *November*, he made a general aſſault, when it appeared, that the place was inacceſſible, at leaſt to forces under ſuch circumſtances as his were. Two days after, he reſolved upon a retreat, which was as ill conducted as the reſt of the expedition. It was made in the ſight of an enemy as ſtrong in foot, and more numerous in horſe than themſelves, over a narrow cauſeway with ſalt-pits on each ſide: yet there was no precaution taken by erecting a fort, or ſo much as throwing up a retrenchment to cover the entrance of the paſſage; whereby the army was ſo much expoſed, that abundance of brave men were killed, which the beſt accounts now extant ſum up thus: fifty officers, two thouſand common ſoldiers, and thirty-five voluntiers of note. With equal ſhame and loſs therefore, the duke concluded this unlucky expedition, embarking all his forces on the ninth of the ſame month, and ſending the poor *Rochellers* a promiſe, that he would come again to their relief; which, however, he did not live to perform. To compleat his misfortune, as he entered *Plymouth*, he met the earl of *Holland* with the promiſed ſuccours ſailing out, who now returned with him. There never was a more fatal undertaking than this. It was highly prejudicial to the crown, and entirely ruined the duke. The merchants were diſcouraged from carrying on trade by impreſſing their ſhips;

and

and the king was ſo little in a condition to pay the ſeamen, that they came in crowds, and clamoured at *Whitehall* [u].

To remedy theſe evils, a parliament was called in the beginning of 1628, wherein there paſſed nothing but diſputes between the king and the commons; ſo that at laſt it was prorogued without granting ſupplies. The king, however, exerted himſelf to the utmoſt, in preparing a naval force to make good, what the duke of *Buckingham* had promiſed to the inhabitants of *Rochelle*. With this view a fleet of fifty ſail was aſſembled at *Plymouth* in the ſpring, and a large body of marines embarked; the command of it was given to the earl of *Denbigh*, who was brother-in-law to *Buckingham*, and who ſailed from that port on the ſeventeenth of *April*, coming to anchor in the road of *Rochelle* on the firſt of *May*. On his arrival, he found twenty ſail of the *French* king's ſhips riding before the harbour, and being much ſuperior in number and ſtrength, he ſent advice into the town, that he would ſink the *French* ſhips as ſoon as the wind came weſt, and made a higher flood. About the eighth of *May*, the wind and tide ſerved accordingly, and the *Rochellers* expected and ſollicited for that ſeaſon of deliverance. But the earl, without embracing the opportunity, weighed anchor, and ſailed away, ſuffering four of the *French* ſhips to purſue, as it were, the *Engliſh* fleet, which arrived at *Plymouth* on the twenty-ſixth of *May*. This ſecond inglorious expedition was ſtill a greater diſcouragement to the poor *Rochellers*, and encreaſed the fears and jealouſies of a popiſh intereſt

[u] Sir Richard Granville's Journal, Frankland's Annals, Rushworth's Collections, Whitlock's Memorials, Warwick's Memorials.

intereſt at home. One *Le Brun* a *Frenchman*, captain in the *Engliſh* fleet, gave in depoſitions before the mayor of *Plymouth* on the ſixteenth of *May*, which argued treachery, or apparent cowardice, in the management of this late expedition. This account was certified by the mayor of *Plymouth*, and the burgeſſes of that town in parliament, by whom it was communicated to the council-table, from whence a letter was directed to the duke of *Buckingham* as lord high-admiral, dated the thirtieth of *May* 1628, to ſignify his majeſty's pleaſure, that the earl of *Denbigh* ſhould return back to relieve the town of *Rochelle*, with the fleet under his charge, and with other ſhips prepared at *Portſmouth* and *Plymouth*. But, notwithſtanding this order of council, no ſuch return was made, nor any enquiry into the obſtruction of it[w].

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe repeated defeats, the cries of the *Rochellers*, and the clamours of the people were ſo loud, that a third fleet was prepared for the relief of that city, now by a cloſe ſiege, reduced to the laſt extremity. The duke of *Buckingham* choſe to command in perſon, and to that end came to *Portſmouth*; where, on the twenty-third of *Auguſt*, having been at breakfaſt with *Soubize*, and the general officers, *John Felton* (late lieutenant of a regiment of foot, under ſir *John Ramſay*) placed himſelf in an entry, through which the duke was to paſs, who walking with ſir *Thomas Frier*, and inclining his ear to him in a poſture of attention, *Felton* with a back-blow ſtabbed him on the left ſide into the very heart, leaving the knife in his body, which the duke pulled out with his own

[w] Kennet's Hiſtory of England, p. 48. Duke of Rohan's Memoirs, ſir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, Frankland's Annals.

own hand, and then fell down, ſaying only, *the villain hath killed me! Felton* ſlipt away, and might have gone off undiſcovered; but that either his conſcience, or inſolence betrayed him. For while the general rumour was, that the murderer muſt be a *Frenchman*, and ſome began to ſuſpect *Soubize* as a party in it; *Felton* ſtept out and ſaid, *I am the man who did the deed: let no man ſuffer that is innocent.* Upon which he was apprehended, and ſent priſoner to *London*.

THIS accident did not prevent the king's proſecuting his deſign, the very next day his majeſty made the earl of *Lindſey* admiral, *Moreton* and *Mountjoy*, vice and rear-admirals; and, as an illuſtrious foreign writer aſſures us, his care and preſence had ſuch an effect in preparing for this voyage, that more was diſpatched now, in ten or twelve days, than in many weeks before *; which is a demonſtrative proof of two things, of which many of our writers of hiſtory have affected to doubt, *viz.* that the king was hearty in his deſign, and that the *Rochellers* were convinced of it. This expedition, however, was not more fortunate than the former. The fleet ſailed the eighth of *September* 1628, and arriving before *Rochelle*, found the boom raiſed to block up the entrance of the port, ſo ſtrong, that though many attempts were made to break through it, yet they proved vain, ſo that the *Rochellers* were glad to accept of terms from their own prince, and actually ſurrendered the place on the eighteenth of *October*, the *Engliſh* fleet looking on, but not being able to help them; and, to compleat

* Duke of Rohan's memoirs, p. 188. He was the chief of the Huguenots, and here on the ſpot; therefore leaſt likely to be deceived himſelf, or to deceive others.

pleat their misfortunes, the very night after the city was given up, the ſea made ſuch a breach, as would have opened an entrance for the largeſt ſhip in the *Engliſh* fleet [y]. With this expedition ended the operations of the war with *France*, though a peace was not made till the ſucceeding year [z].

FROM this time, the *French* began to affect a maritime power, and to be extremely uneaſy at the growth of the *Engliſh* Shipping. This was the effect of cardinal *Richlieu*'s politics, who beſt underſtood the different intereſts of the ſeveral *European* powers, and how to manage them, ſo as to make them ſurſervient to the ends of *France*, of any miniſter that nation ever had: or, it is to be hoped, for the peace of *Chriſtendom*, ever will have. He brought in the *Swedes*, to deſtroy the power of the houſe of *Auſtria* in *Germany*, and had addreſs enough to engage us to aſſiſt in that deſign, upon the plauſible pretence of favouring the proteſtant intereſt [a]. Then his agents in *Holland* drew that ſtate into a jealouſy of our dominion over the narrow ſeas, our claim to the ſole right of fiſhing, or permitting to fiſh in them, and expecting the honour of the flag, at a conſiderable diſtance from our own ſhores. After theſe notions had been a while the ſubjects of common diſcourſe among the *Dutch*, the famous *Hugo Grotius* was induced to write a treatiſe under the title of *Mare liberum*, wherein, with great learning and eloquence, he endeavoured to ſhew the weakneſs of our title to dominion over the ſea; which according to his notion, was a gift from god, common

[y] Frankland's annals, p. . Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 49. Warwick's memoirs. [z] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol, iii. p. 53. [a] This matter is very fairly ſtated by ſir Philip Warwick, in memoirs, p. 37.

mon to all nations [b]. This was anſwered by *Selden*, in his famous treatiſe, entitled, *Mare clauſum*, wherein he has effectually demonſtrated from the principles of the law of nature, and nations, that a dominion over the ſea may be acquired, from the moſt authentic hiſtories, that ſuch a dominion has been claimed and enjoyed by ſeveral nations, and ſubmitted to by others for their common benefit; that this in fact was the caſe of the inhabitants of this iſland, who at all times, and under every kind of government, had claimed, exerciſed, and conſtantly enjoyed ſuch a dominion, which had been confeſſed by their neighbours, frequently, and in the moſt ſolemn manner [c]. All this, with learning, induſtry, and judgment ſuperior to praiſe, this great man hath fully and unqueſtionably made out for the ſatisfaction of foreigners, as it is the deſign of this work (if I may be allowed to mention it in the ſame page with Mr. *Selden*'s) to impreſs the ſame ſentiment on the minds of all ſenſible *Britons*, viz. "that they have an hereditary, un-"interrupted right to the ſovereignty of their ſeas, con-"veyed to them from their earlieſt anceſtors, in truſt for "their lateſt poſterity." This book of Mr. *Selden*'s was publiſhed in 1634, and by the countenance then, and afterwards, ſhewn by king *Charles* towards this extraordinary performance, we may fairly conclude, that he had very juſt and generous notions of his own, and his people's rights in this reſpect, though he was very unfortunate in taking ſuch methods as he did to ſupport them [d].

THE

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[b] The title of this book runs thus, *Mare liberum; ſeu, de Jure quod Batavis competit ad indica Commercia: Lug. Bat. Elzevir.* 1609. 8vo. reprinted about this time. [c] Selden's title is ſhort and plain, *Mare clauſum; ſeu, de Dominio Maris, lib. 2. Londini*, 1635. fol. [d] See Clarendon, Ruſhworth, Frankland, Whitlock, Warwick.

THE *French* miniſter perſiſted ſteadily in his ſcheme of uſing the power and induſtry of the *Dutch*, to interrupt the trade, and leſſen the maritime force of *Britain*. With this view alſo, a negotiation was begun between that crown and the ſtates of *Holland*, for dividing the *Spaniſh Netherlands* between them; and under colour of thus aſſiſting them, in ſupport of their pretenſions to an equal right over the ſea, and in promoting their trade, to the prejudice of ours: *Richlieu* carried on ſecretly and ſecurely his darling project of raiſing a naval force in *France*, to further which, he ſpared not either for pains or expence, procuring from all parts the ableſt perſons in all arts and ſciences relating to navigation, and fixing them in the *French* ſervice by great encouragements. Our king formed a juſt idea of his deſign, and ſaw thoroughly into its conſequences, which he endeavoured to prevent, by publiſhing proclamations for reſtraining ſhipwrights, and other artificers, from entering into foreign ſervice; for aſſerting his title to the ſovereignty of the ſea, and for regulating the manner of wearing flags at ſea [a]. If to theſe precautions, he had joined a reaſonable condeſcenſion to the temper of his ſubjects, in diſmiſſing from his ſervice, ſuch as were obnoxious to them, either through their actions, or behaviour, and had thereby fixed them, and their repreſentatives firmly in his intereſt, without doubt, he had gained his point, and carried the glory of this nation higher than any of his predeceſſors. But his want of ſkill in the art of gaining the affections of the people, and, to ſpeak without reſerve, that want of *true public ſpirit* in ſome who were now eſteemed *patriots* by the people, prevented the effects of the king's laudable

[a] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 74.

dable intentions, and turned what he meant for a cordial, into a corroſive poiſon. I am far from affecting an allegorical ſtile; but there are ſome things of ſo nice a nature, and the tempers of men are in ſome ſeaſons ſo ſtrangely turned, that it is not either expedient for them to hear, or for the hiſtorian to tell even truth too bluntly. Yet it is equally dangerous, on the other hand, for one who undertakes ſuch a taſk as this, to be afraid of delivering his ſentiments freely, even ſuppoſing his fears to flow from an apprehenſion of injuring, what he thinks it his duty to recommend. Under a ſtrong ſenſe therefore, of what in one reſpect it becomes me to ſay, for the ſervice of my country, and what in regard to the opinions of very great men, who have thought in another way, it is unfit for me to ſhew my ſelf poſitive; I come now to ſpeak of ſhip money, a ſubject equally tender a hundred years ago, and at preſent [1].

THE apprehenſions which the king had entertained of this new league between the *French* and *Dutch*, were ſo heightened in the year 1635, by the junction of the fleets of thoſe two powers, and the intelligence he had, that *France* was ſhortly to declare war againſt *Spain*, and from thence to derive that occaſion they had been ſo long ſeeking to divide the *Netherlands*, between themſelves and their new allies, all whoſe pretenſions, in reſpect to the right of fiſhing in, and uſing the ſeas, they had undertaken to ſupport, that he reſolved to be no longer paſſive [2]. In order to defeat this deſign, and maintain the ſovereignty annexed to the *Engliſh* crown, as well as the nation's credit, as a maritime power, the king ſaw that it was neceſſary to equip

[1] Compare our modern hiſtories with thoſe written near thoſe times. [2] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 289. Frankland's annals, p. 468.

quip and put to ſea a ſuperior naval force. This it ſeemed hard to do, without the aſſiſtance of a parliament; and yet the delays in granting aids had been ſo great in former parliaments, that his majeſty was very doubtful of ſucceeding, if for this he truſted to a parliamentary ſupply. His lawyers, knowing both the nature of the caſe, and his diſtreſs, ſuggeſted to him, that upon this occaſion, he might have recourſe to his prerogative; which opinion having been approved of by the judges, he thereupon directed writs to be iſſued, for the levying of ſhip-money. Theſe writs were, for the preſent, directed to ſea-ports, and ſuch places as were near the coaſt, requiring them to furniſh a certain number of ſhips, or to grant the king an aid equivalent thereto. The city of *London* was directed to provide ſeven ſhips for twenty-ſix days, and other places in proportion. To make the nation the more eaſy under this tax, the king directed, that the money raiſed thereby, ſhould be kept apart in the *Exchequer*, and that a diſtinct account ſhould be given of the ſervices to which it was applied. But in ſpite of theſe precautions, the people murmured grievouſly; which, however, did not hinder this project from being carried into execution [k]. But as our neighbours were likely to be as much alarmed from the equipping of ſo ſtrong a fleet, as our people were diſturbed at home by the method taken to defray the expence of it: ſecretary *Coke*, by the king's orders, wrote a letter to ſir *William Boſwell*, then charged with his majeſty's affairs at the *Hague*, in order fully to explain what that fleet was to perform, which

[k] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 81. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. Sir William Monſon's naval tracts. Whitlock's memorial, &c.

letter, for the honour of thoſe times, ſhall be inſerted here, and is as follows,

SIR,

BY your letters, and otherwiſe, I perceive many jealouſies and diſcourſes are raiſed upon the preparations of his majeſty's fleet, which is now in ſuch forwardneſs, that we doubt not, but within this month, it will appear at ſea. It is therefore expedient, both for your ſatisfaction and direction, to inform you particularly, what was the occaſion, and what is his majeſty's intention in this work.

FIRST, we hold it a principle not to be denied, that the king of *Great Britain*, is a monarch at land and ſea, to the full extent of his dominions; and that it concerneth him, as much to maintain his ſovereignty in all the *Britiſh* ſeas, as within his three kingdoms; becauſe, without that, theſe cannot be kept ſafe, nor he preſerve his honour, and due reſpect with other nations. But commanding the ſeas, he may cauſe his neighbours, and all countries, to ſtand upon their guard, whenſoever he thinks fit. And this cannot be doubted, that whoſoever will encroach upon him by ſea, will do it by land alſo, when they ſee their time. To ſuch preſumption, *Mare liberum* gave the firſt warning piece, which muſt be anſwered with a defence of *Mare clauſum*, not ſo much by diſcourſes, as by the louder language of a powerful navy, to be better underſtood, when over-ſtrained patience ſeeth no hope of preſerving her right by other means.

THE degrees by which his majeſty's dominion at ſea hath of later years been firſt impeached, and then queſtioned, are as conſiderable as notorious.

FIRST,

FIRST, to cheriſh, and as it were, to nurſe up our unthankful neighbours, we gave them leave to gather wealth and ſtrength upon our coaſts, in our ports, by our trade, and by our people. Then they were glad to invite our merchants reſidence, with what privileges they could deſire. Then they offered to us, even the ſovereignty of their eſtates, and then they ſued for licence to fiſh upon the coaſts, and obtained it, under the great ſeal of *Scotland*, which now they ſuppreſs. And when thus by leave, or by connivance, they had poſſeſſed themſelves of our fiſhing, not only in *Scotland*, but in *Ireland* and in *England*, and by our ſtaple, had raiſed a great ſtock of trade, by theſe means, they ſo encreaſed their ſhipping and power at ſea, that now they endure not to be kept at any diſtance: nay, they are grown to that confidence, to keep guards upon our ſeas, and then to project an office and company of aſſurance, for the advancement of trade, and withal, prohibit us free commerce, even within our ſeas, and take our ſhips and goods, if we conform not to their placarts. What inſolencies and cruelties they have committed againſt us heretofore, in *Iceland*, in *Greenland*, and in the *Indies*, is too well known to all the world. In all which, tho' our ſufferings, and their wrong, may ſeem forgotten, yet the great intereſt of his majeſty's honour, is ſtill the ſame, and will refreſh their memories, as there ſhall be cauſe. For though charity muſt remit wrongs done to private men, yet the reflection upon the public, may make it a greater charity to do juſtice on crying crimes. All this, notwithſtanding, you are not to conceive, that the work of this fleet, is either revenge, or execution of juſtice for theſe great offences paſt, but chiefly for the future, to ſtop the violent current of that preſumption, whereby the men of war and

freebooters of all nations, abuſing the favour of his majeſty's peaceable and gracious government, whereby he hath permitted all his friends and allies, to make uſe of his ſeas and ports, in a reaſonable and free manner, and according to his treaties, have taken upon them the boldneſs, not only to come confidently, at all times, into all his ports and rivers, but to convey their merchant ſhips as high as his chief city, and then to caſt anchor, cloſe upon his magazines, and to contemn the commands of his officers, when they required a farther diſtance. But, which is more intolerable, have aſſaulted and taken one another within his majeſty's channels, and within his rivers, to the ſcorn and contempt of his dominion and power, and this being of late years an ordinary practice, which we have endeavoured in vain to reform, by the ways of juſtice and treaties, the world, I think, will now be ſatisfied, that we have reaſon to look about us. And no wiſe man will doubt, that it is high time to put ourſelves in this equipage upon the ſeas, and not to ſuffer that ſtage of action to be taken from us, for want of our appearance.

So you ſee, the general ground upon which our counſels ſtand. In particular, you may take notice and publiſh, as cauſe requires, that his majeſty, by this fleet, intendeth not a rupture with any prince or ſtate, nor to infringe any point of his treaties, but reſolveth to continue and maintain that happy peace wherewith god hath bleſſed his kingdom, and to which all his actions and negotiations have hitherto tended, as by your own inſtructions you may fully underſtand. But withal, conſidering that peace muſt be maintained by the arm of power, which only keeps down war by keeping up dominion; his majeſty thus provoked, finds its neceſſary, for his own defence and ſafety, to re-aſ-

ſume

ſume and keep his antient and undoubted right in the dominion of theſe ſeas, and ſuffer no other prince or ſtate to encroach upon him, thereby aſſuming to themſelves, or their admirals, any ſovereign command, but to force them, to perform due homage to his admirals and ſhips, and to pay them acknowledgments as in former times they did. He will alſo ſet open and protect the free trade both of his ſubjects and allies, and give them ſuch ſafe conduct and convoy, as they ſhall reaſonably require. He will ſuffer no other fleets, or men of war, to keep any guard upon theſe ſeas, or there to offer violence, or take prizes, or booties, or to give interruption to any lawful intercourſe. In a word, his majeſty is reſolved, as to do no wrong, ſo to do juſtice, both to his ſubjects and friends, within the limits of his ſeas. And this is the real and royal deſign of this fleet, whereof you may give part, as you find occaſion, to our good neighbours in thoſe parts, that no umbrage may be taken, of any hoſtile act or purpoſe to their prejudice in any kind. So wiſhing you all health and happineſs. I reſt.

Whitehall, April 16th, 1635.

One would imagine, that leſs care had been taken to ſatisfy the minds of the people at home, about the real intent of this tax, levied for the equipping of a fleet, ſufficient for theſe neceſſary purpoſes, ſince otherwiſe, the public welfare ſeemed to be ſo nearly concerned, that public acquieſcence, at leaſt, might have been expected. But the truth of the matter was, that his majeſty did, in this reſpect, all that was in his power, by directing the lord-keeper *Coventry*, to put the judges in mind, before they went the ſummer circuit, to ſatisfy the minds of the people, in rela-

tion to the levying of ſhip money, which moſt of them did, but as *Whitlocke* aſſures us, very ineffectually; though the ſame author acknowledges that the money was aſſeſſed and levied with great care and equality, much beyond what was obſerved in following taxes.

WITH the help of this money, the king in the month of *May* 1635, fitted out a fleet of forty ſail under the command of *Robert* earl of *Lindſey*, who was admiral, ſir *William Monſon*, vice-admiral, ſir *John Pennington*, rear-admiral; as alſo another of 20 ſail, under the earl of *Eſſex*. The firſt of theſe fleets ſailed from *Tilbury-Hope* on the 26th of *May*. Their inſtructions were to give no occaſion of hoſtility, and to ſuffer nothing which might prejudice the rights of the king and kingdom. The *French* and *Dutch* fleets joined off *Portland*, the laſt of this month, and made no ſcruple of giving out, that they intended to aſſert their own independency, and to queſtion that prerogative which the *Engliſh* claimed in the narrow ſeas; but as ſoon as they were informed that the *Engliſh* fleet was at ſea, and in ſearch of them, they quitted our coaſt, and repaired to their own. Our admiral ſent a bark upon the coaſt of *Britany*, to take a view of them, and from the time of the return of this bark, to the 1ſt of *October*, this fleet protected our own ſeas and ſhores, gave laws to the neighbouring nations, and effectually aſſerted that ſovereignty which the monarchs of this kingdom have ever claimed. The good effect of this armament, and the reputation we gained thereby abroad, in ſome meaſure, quieted the minds of the people, as it convinced them, that this was not an invention to bring

money

money into the *Exchequer*, without reſpect had to the end for which it was raiſed [i].

THE king, perfectly ſatisfied with what had been done this year, and yet well knowing that it would ſignify little if another, and that at leaſt as good a fleet was not ſet out the next, to raiſe the money neceſſary, for equipping ſuch a force, had recourſe again to his writs for levying of ſhip-money; but now the aid was made more extenſive. What was before rated as a particular proviſion, to be raiſed by the reſpective ports for their own immediate ſafety, was now converted into a national tax, and ſo became the more grievous for want of authority of parliament. The burden indeed in itſelf was far from being preſſing; at the utmoſt it did not amount to above 236,000*l. per annum*, which was not quite 20,000*l.* a month throughout the whole kingdom; yet the making it an univerſal aid, and the aſſeſſing and collecting it in the parliamentary methods, gave it an air of oppreſſion, and made it extremely odious; though the neceſſity was far from being diſſembled, and the benefits reſulting from the care taken of the narrow ſeas, which had afforded matter of enquiry, and expoſtulation to every parliament the king had called, could not be denied [k].

IN order to prevent all doubts from his own ſubjects, and alſo to prevent any falſe ſurmiſes gaining ground in foreign nations, as to the deſign of this potent armament, the

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[i] We have a clear and full account of this expedition written by ſir William Monſon himſelf, who was an eye-witneſs, and a proper judge of ſuch matters, in his naval tracts, p. 289.

[k] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p 81. Sir Phil. Warwick's memoirs, Frankland's annals, Whitlock's memorial, &c.

the king thought fit to expreſs his royal intentions to the world, in the moſt public, and in the moſt authentic manner; that, at one and the ſame time, it might appear what himſelf demanded, and what had been paid in acknowledgment of the right of his anceſtors in regard to thoſe things, as to which theſe demands were made. That inſtrument ran thus.

A proclamation for reſtraint of fiſhing upon his majeſty's ſeas and coaſts without licenſe.

"WHEREAS our father of bleſſed memory, king *James*, did in the ſeventh year of his reign of "*Great Britain*, ſet forth a proclamation, touching fiſhing; whereby, for the many important reaſons therein "expreſſed, all perſons of what nation or quality ſoever, "(being not his natural born ſubjects) were reſtrained "from fiſhing upon any the coaſts and ſeas of *Great* "*Britain*, *Ireland*, and the reſt of the iſles adjacent; "where moſt uſually heretofore fiſhing had been, until "they had orderly demanded and obtained licenſes from "our ſaid father, or his commiſſioners in that behalf, upon pain of ſuch chatiſement, as ſhould be fit to be inflicted upon ſuch wilful offenders: Since which time, "albeit, neither our ſaid father, nor ourſelf, have made "any conſiderable execution of the ſaid proclamation, but "have with much patience expected a voluntary conformitie of our neighbours and allies, to ſo juſt and reaſonable propoſitions and directions as are contained in the "ſame.

"And now finding by experience, that all the inconviences which occaſioned that proclamation, are rather "increaſed than abated: We being very ſenſible of the

"premiſes,

" premiſes, and well knowing how far we are obliged in " honour to maintain the rights of our crown; eſpecial- " ly, of ſo great conſequence, have thought it neceſſary, " by the advice of our privy council, to renew the afore- " ſaid reſtraint of fiſhing, upon our aforeſaid coaſts and ſeas, " without licenſe firſt obtained from us, and by theſe " preſents to make public declaration, that our reſolutions " is at times convenient, to keep ſuch a competent " ſtrength of ſhipping upon our ſeas, as may (by gods " bleſſing) be ſufficient both to hinder ſuch farther en- " croachments upon our regalities, and aſſiſt and protect " thoſe our good friends and allies, who ſhall henceforth " by virtue of our licenſes (to be firſt obtained) endeavour " to take the benefit of fiſhing upon our coaſts and ſeas " in the places accuſtomed.

Given at our palace of *Weſtminſter* the tenth day of *May*, in the twelfth year of our reign of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

In 1636, the king ſent a fleet of 60 ſail to ſea, under the command of the earl of *Northumberland* admiral, ſir *John Pennington* vice-admiral, and ſir *Henry Marom* rear-admiral. They ſailed firſt to the *Downs*, and from thence to the north, where the *Dutch Buſſes* were fiſhing upon our coaſt. The admiral required them to forbear, which they not ſeeming diſpoſed to do, he fired upon them; this put them into great confuſion, and obliged them to have recourſe to other methods. The *Dutch*, therefore, applied themſelves to the earl of *Northumberland*, deſired him to mediate with the king, that they might have leave to go on with their fiſhing this year, for which they were content to pay 30,000 *l.* and expreſſed alſo a willingneſs to obtain a grant from the king, for his permiſſion of their veſſels to

fiſh

fiſh there, for the time to come, paying an annual tribute[1].

Such is the beſt account that can be collected of the cauſes and conſequences of this expedition, from our beſt hiſtorians. But the earl of *Northumberland* delivered a journal of his whole proceedings, ſigned with his own hand; which is, or at leaſt was preſerved in the paper-office. In that journal, there are ſeveral memorable particulars. The *Dutch fiſhing-buſſes* upon the appearance of his lordſhips fleet, did take licenſes, to the number of two hundred, though he arrived amongſt them pretty late in the year. He exacted from them twelve pence per tun, as an acknowledgment, and affirms that they went away well ſatisfied. It was pretended by the *Dutch* in king *Charles* the ſecond's time, that this was an act of violence, and that nothing could be concluded as to the right of this crown, from that tranſaction; ſince the *Dutch* did not pay, becauſe, they thought what was inſiſted upon to be due; but, becauſe they were defenceleſs. His lordſhip's journal ſets this pretence entirely aſide, ſince it appeared from thence, that they had a ſquadron of ten men of war for their protection; as alſo, that *Auguſt* the 20th, 1636, the *Dutch* vice-admiral *Dorp*, came with a fleet of twenty men of war; but inſtead of interrupting the earl in his proceedings, he ſaluted him by lowering his topſails, ſtriking his flag and firing his guns, after which he came on board, and was well entertained by the earl of *Northumberland*. It is farther mentioned in that journal, that upon his lordſhips return from the *North*, and anchoring in the *Downs*, he had notice of a *Spaniſh* fleet of twenty-ſix ſail, bound for

[1] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 81.

for *Dunkirk*; to reconnoitre which he ſent one of the ſhips of his ſquadron, called the *Happy Entrance*, to which ſingle ſhip, that fleet paid the marks of reſpect, which were due to the *Engliſh* flag whenever it appeared.

THE king meant to have continued both this method of raiſing money, and of fitting out fleets annually, and by giving ſeveral young noblemen commands at ſea, to have rendered them the more capable of ſerving their country in times of greater danger[m]; but he quickly found this impracticable. The nation grew ſo diſſatisfied with this method of raiſing money; and the great caſe of Mr. *Hampden*, made it ſo clear, that a conſtant and regular levying of this tax, was dangerous to the conſtitution, and to the freedom of the ſubject, that the king was obliged to lay aſide this ſcheme, and to content himſelf with uſing all the methods that could be thought of, to awaken the people's attention in regard to the ſovereignty of the ſea[n]. With this view, his majeſty made an order in council, that a copy of Mr. *Selden's* book upon that ſubject, ſhould be kept in the council-cheſt, that another copy ſhould be depoſited in the court of *Exchequer*, and a third in the court of admiralty, there to remain as perpetual evidence of our juſt claim to the dominion of the ſeas[o]. Happy had it been, if the king had at this time called a parliament, and after excuſing the manner in which the money was levied, had ſhewn how well it was applied, how effectually our navigation had been protected, and all the deſigns of the *French* and *Dutch* defeated; for it

[m] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 299. Warwick's memoirs, p. 53. [n] Ruſhworth's collections, Frankland's annals, Clarendon's hiſtory, Whitlock's memorials. [o] See the order of council, in Frankland's annals, p. 476.

it may be then presumed, that the parliament, would have provided in a legal manner, for the maintainance of these fleets, which must have been of infinite advantage in respect to the trade of this kingdom.

Mr. *D'Estrades*, as he tells us in his negotiation, was sent over in the latter end of the year 1637, with a private commission from the cardinal, to prevail on our king to stand neuter, whilst *France* and *Holland* in conjunction attacked the maritime places of the *Spanish* netherlands; and to offer him at the same time very advantageous conditions in return for his inactivity. King *Charles* answered with equal firmness and prudence, that he could never suffer his hands to be tied up by a neutrality so prejudicial to his own honour, and the interest of his kingdom; and that he would keep a fleet in the *Downs*, with fifteen thousand men ready to be transported to the relief of the first town, which should be invested by the arms of the *French* king or the states; and as to the assistance which his eminence had offered to him against any domestic disturbance he thanked him for it; but thought it quite unnecessary, since he depended on his own authority, and the laws of the land for the suppressing and punishing of all such rebellious attempts. The vindictive cardinal no sooner received the account of this conference from his agent, than he resolved to take an immediate revenge, and dispatched without delay to *Edinburgh*, *Abbe Chamber* his almoner, whom he instructed to encourage the covenanters in their design, with the hopes of assistance from *France*, and to improve the correspondence which *D'Estrades* had formed amongst them during his short stay in *England*. This *Abbe* played his part so well, that the prince of *Orange* told monsieur *D'Estrades*, that the cardinal had employed a very notable instrument

inſtrument in *Scotland*, by whoſe practices the king's intereſt in that country was entirely ruined.

NOTHING of conſequence occurs in regard to naval affairs till the year 1639, when the *Spaniards* fitted out a powerful fleet, conſiſting of ſixty-ſeven ſail of large ſhips, manned with 25,000 ſeamen, and having on board 12000 land forces, deſigned for the relief of *Flanders*. The *Dutch* had two or three ſquadrons at ſea, the *Spaniſh* fleet coming up the channel, was met in the *Streights* of *Dover* by one of them, conſiſting of ſeventeen ſail, under the command of *Herpert Van Tromp*, who, notwithſtanding the enemy's great ſuperiority, attacked them; but finding himſelf too weak, was obliged to ſheer off towards *Dunkirk*, where being joined by the other ſquadrons, he ſo roughly handled the *Spaniſh* fleet, under the command of *Don Antonio de Oquendo*, that at laſt he forced them on the *Engliſh* coaſt near *Dover*. *Tromp*, finding himſelf in want of powder and ball, ſtood away for *Calais*, where he was liberally ſupplied by the governor, and then returned to attack the enemy. Upon his approach the *Spaniards* got within the *South-Foreland*, and put themſelves under the protection of our caſtles. Things being in this ſituation, the *Spaniſh* reſident importuned king *Charles*, that he would oblige the *Dutch* to forbear hoſtilities for two tides, that the *Spaniards* might have an opportunity of bearing away for their own coaſt; but the king being in amity with both powers, was reſolved to ſtand neuter: and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired ſome *Engliſh* ſhips to tranſport their ſoldiers to *Dunkirk*, upon complaint made thereof by the *Dutch* ambaſſadors, ſtrict orders were given, that no ſhips or veſſels belonging to his majeſty's ſubjects, ſhould take any *Spaniard* on board, or paſs below *Gravſend* without licence.

HOWEVER,

However, after much plotting and counterplotting on both ſides, the *Spaniard* at length outwitted his enemy, and found means by a ſtratagem in the night, to convey away through the *Downs*, round by the *North Sand Head*, and the back of the *Godwin*, twelve large ſhips to *Dunkirk*, and in them 4000 men. In excuſe of this groſs neglect of the *Dutch* admirals, in leaving that avenue from the *Downs* unguarded, they affirmed they were aſſured by the *Engliſh*, that no ſhips of any conſiderable burden could venture by night to ſail that way. The two fleets had now continued in their ſtations near three weeks, when king *Charles* ſent the earl of *Arundel* to the admiral of *Spain*, to deſire him to retreat upon the firſt fair wind; but by this time the *Dutch* fleet was by continual reinforcements from *Zealand* and *Holland*, increaſed to a hundred ſail, and ſeeming diſpoſed to attack their enemies, ſir *John Penington* admiral of his majeſty's fleet, who lay in the *Downs* with thirty-four men of war, acquainted the *Dutch* admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties, which ſhould be firſt attacked. The *Spaniards*, however, growing too preſumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired ſome ſhot at *Van Tromp*'s barge, when himſelf was in her, and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board of a *Dutch* ſhip, whoſe dead body was preſently ſent on board ſir *John Penington*, as a proof that the *Spaniards* were the firſt aggreſſors, and had violated the neutrality of the king of *England*'s harbour. Soon after this the *Dutch* admiral came to a reſolution of attacking the *Spaniards*; but before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to admiral *Penington*, telling him, that the *Spaniards* having infringed the liberties of the king of *England*'s harbour, and become the aggreſſors, he found himſelf obliged

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to retaliate force with force, and attack them, in which, purſuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on his aſſiſtance; which, however, if he ſhould not pleaſe to grant, he prayed the favour, that he would at leaſt give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwiſe he ſhould have juſt cauſe of complaint to all the world, of ſo manifeſt an injury.

THIS letter being delivered to the *Engliſh* admiral, *Van Tromp* bore up to the *Spaniards*, in ſix diviſions, and charged them ſo furiouſly with his broad-ſides, and his fire-ſhips, as forced them all to cut their cables, and being fifty-three in number, twenty-three ran aſhore, and ſtranded in the *Downs*, whereof three were burnt, two ſunk, and two periſhed on the ſhore; one of which was a great galleon (the vice-admiral of *Galicia*) commanded by don *Antonio de Caſtro*, and mounted with fifty-two braſs guns. The remainder of the twenty-three which were ſtranded and deſerted by the *Spaniards*, were manned by the *Engliſh*, to ſave them from the *Dutch*. The other thirty *Spaniſh* ſhips, with don *Antonio de Oquendo*, the commander in chief, and *Lopez*, admiral of *Portugal*, got out to ſea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog ariſing, the *Dutch* took advantage thereof, interpoſed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the *Admiral* of *Portugal* began to flame, being fired by two *Dutch* ſhips fitted for that purpoſe. *Oquendo* perceiving this, preſently ſtood away for *Dunkirk*, with the *Admiral* of that place, and ſome few ſhips more; for, of theſe thirty, five were ſunk in the fight, eleven taken and ſent into *Holland*, three periſhed upon the coaſt of *France*, one near *Dover*, and only ten eſcaped. The firſt hoſtility committed by the

Spaniards, was a plea the *Dutch* made uſe of in their juſtification to us; and, at the ſame time a ſufficient argument to defend the conduct of the *Engliſh* government, which otherwiſe would have appeared repugnant to the laws of nations, in ſuffering one friend to deſtroy another within its chambers [d].

It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that in reality the people in general were not ſorry for this misfortune which befel the *Spaniards*, though the court took all the care imaginable to prevent it; and the reaſon was, that ſome ſurmiſed this to be a new *Spaniſh Armada*, fitted out nominally againſt the *Dutch*; but in truth, intended to act againſt heretics in general. At firſt ſight this may appear a wild and extravagant ſuggeſtion: but perhaps, the reader will change his opinion, when he is told, that in the next parliament, there really appeared ſome kind of proof of it; a *popiſh* book being produced, in which, among other ſuperſtitious things, were prayers for the holy martyrs, who periſhed in the fleet ſent againſt the heretics in *England* [e]. However it was, the bare report undoubtedly was more than ſufficient to alarm the populace, and revive their reſentments againſt the *Spaniards*. Some of our own writers have affected to repreſent the conduct of the *Dutch*, as derogatory on this occaſion from our ſovereignty of the ſea, but foreigners, who are the beſt judges in ſuch caſes, intimate nothing of this kind [f], though it muſt be allowed, our affairs were then in ſuch confuſion, that it is very doubtful whether his majeſty could have properly reſented any indignity in caſe they had offered it.

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[d] Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 281. [e] Ruſhworth's Collections, vol ii. p. 374. Prynne's Royal Favourite, p. 59. Fiery Jeſuits, a quarto pamphlet, printed in 1667, p. 118. [f] See Nani's Hiſtory of Venice, book xi. p. 472, 473.

I HAD like to have ſlipped over, as I think all our writers of naval hiſtory have done, the expedition of the marquiſs of *Hamilton* againſt the *Scots*, which was undertaken this year; and indeed there is very little in it worth mentioning, except to ſhew how difficult it is to come at truth in relation to theſe affairs. Biſhop *Burnet*, in his memoirs of the *Hamilton* family, has given us a very plauſible account of this matter. He ſays, the duke embarked at *Yarmouth* about the middle of *April* 1639, that he had with him about 5000 men, among whom there were not above 200 that knew how to fire a gun: but he does not ſay what number of ſhips he had, or of what burden; only that the troops were tranſported in colliers, and arrived in the *Frith* of *Forth* the firſt of *May*. There he continued for ſome time, treating with the *Scots* to little or no purpoſe, till the ſeaſon being loſt, he returned without effecting any thing [g]. Another gentleman who lived in thoſe times, and ſeems to have known much of them, gives a quite different detail; which, as it is very ſhort, may not be unworthy of the reader's notice. "*Hamil-*
"*ton* was to be a diſtinct general both by ſea and land,
"and with a good fleet was to block up the *Scots* ſeas;
"nay, to my knowledge, he promiſed ſo to viſit his
"countrymen on their coaſts, as that they ſhould find
"little eaſe or ſecurity in their habitations. For he had
"three good *Engliſh* regiments on board him: but the
"very choice of his ſhips ſhewed he had more mind to
"make war upon the king's treaſure, than on his own
"country or countrymen: for he had choſen ſome of the

[g] Memoirs of James and William dukes of Hamilton, p. 121. 139.

" ſecond and third rate; whereas the leaſt frigates would " have done the greateſt ſervice: thus by the very bulk " of his ſhips obliging himſelf to an inactivity. One " might well have expected that he who had ſo prodi- " gally, as a commiſſioner, laviſhed his majeſty's honour, " and unhinged the government, would have vigorouſly " employed thoſe forces under his command to have re- " ſtored both, and that a man of his importance, would " have found ſome party ready to have countenanced and " aſſiſted him: but inſtead thereof, when he comes and " anchors in the *Frith*, his mother (a violent ſpirited " lady, and a deep preſbytereſs) comes on board him; " and ſurely ſhe had no hard taſk to charm him. After- " wards the great ſhips (like the great formidable log let " down to be a king) lying ſtill, he had ſeveral viſits from " many of the great men, who were moſt active againſt " the king: as if he had been rather returned from an " *Eaſt-India* voyage, than come as a powerful enemy."

THE fleet was hence forward ſo entirely out of the king's power, that I think the naval hiſtory of this reign ends properly here: and therefore, having already related, as fairly and impartially as I can, the ſeveral expeditions undertaken by his authority, I come now to mention the progreſs of trade, the increaſe of ſhipping, and the encouragement of our plantations, during the ſame ſpace.

IT appears from ſir *William Monſon*, and indeed from all the unprejudiced writers of thoſe times, who were competent judges of theſe matters, that the commerce of this iſland increaſed exceedingly during the firſt fifteen years of this king's reign; inſomuch, that the port of *London*

[h] Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 131, 132.

don only could have ſupplied a hundred ſail, capable of being eaſily converted into men of war, and well furniſhed with ordnance [i]. The trade to the *Eaſt-Indies*, which was but beginning in his father's time, became now very conſiderable, and our ſhips gave law in thoſe parts to almoſt all foreign nations. The trade to *Guinea* grew likewiſe to be of very conſiderable benefit to the *Engliſh* ſubjects, and our intercourſe with *Spain*, after the ending of the war, proved of infinite advantage likewiſe [k]. It is true, there happened ſome conſiderable diſputes between the government and the merchants, about cuſtoms, which ſome of the miniſters of the crown thought depended immediately thereupon, and might be taken by virtue of the prerogative only; whereas others conceived, as moſt of the merchants themſelves did, that nothing of this kind could be levied but by the conſent of parliament: but theſe very diſputes ſhew that trade was in a flouriſhing condition; for if the cuſtoms had not riſen to a conſiderable height, beyond what they did in former times, no miniſtry would have run the hazard of ſuch a conteſt [l]. But the principal ſource of our naval ſtrength then, (as it has been ever ſince) was our plantations, to the encouragement and augmentation of which, even thoſe accidents highly contributed, which might have been otherwiſe fatal to the ſociety; ſuch as our civil and eccleſiaſtical diviſions, which inclined numbers of ſober, induſtrious and thinking people to prefer liberty, and whatever they could

[i] Naval Tracts, p. 293. [k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ruſhworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Clarendon, Whitlock, &c.

raiſe in diſtant and hitherto uncultivated lands, to the uneaſy ſituation in which they found themſelves at home [m].

THE colony of *Virginia* had ſtruggled under great difficulties, from the time it fell under the direction of a company, till the king was pleaſed to take it into his own hands; which he did very ſoon after his coming to the crown, and then directed the conſtitution of that colony to be a governor, council, and aſſembly, conformable to that of this kingdom, and under which the colony quickly began to flouriſh. But this happy ſituation of affairs did not laſt long: ſir *John Harvey*, whom the king had made governor, did ſo many illegal and groſs actions, that the colony being at length no longer able to endure him, cauſed him to be ſeized and ſent home as a priſoner in 1639. This behaviour the king exceedingly reſented, and therefore, ſent him back to his government without ſo much as hearing the complaints that were alledged againſt him. But with a view only to ſupport the dignity of the crown; for very ſoon after ſir *William Berkley* was ſent over to ſucceed him, who proved as good a governor as ever this colony had [n]. That of *New-England* had its name beſtowed by his majeſty when prince, and was better ſettled in king *James*'s time, than any other of our colonies, and throughout the whole reign of king *Charles* the firſt, was conſtantly ſupplied with large draughts of people; ſo that by degrees it was divided into four governments, under which it is ſuppoſed, there might be near 25,000 inhabitants, whence it will appear, the trade carried

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[m] Mr. Neale in his hiſtory of the Puritans obſerves, that archbiſhop Laud drove thouſands of families to New-England, by the ſeverities he exerciſed here. [n] The Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 372.

ried on between this colony and its mother country, muſt have been very conſiderable even in this period [o].

THE *Papiſts* in *England*, finding themſelves liable to many ſeverities, and being very apprehenſive of more and greater falling upon them, were deſirous of having an aſylum in the new world, as well as other nonconformiſts; and this gave riſe to the planting of *Maryland*, a country hitherto accounted part of *Virginia*, between 37° and 40° of N. L. which was granted by king *Charles*, the twentieth of *June* 1632, to the anceſtor of the preſent lord *Baltimore*, and derived its name of *Maryland*, from his queen *Henrietta-Maria*. It was more eaſily, and more ſucceſsfully planted than any former colony had been, and the hon. Mr. *Leonard Calvert*, brother to the lord proprietor, was the firſt governor, and continued to exerciſe his authority, till that of the crown grew too feeble to protect him; and then the parliament ſent over a governor of their own [p].

THE *Summer-Iſlands* which were planted in the laſt reign, and ſettled under a regular government in the year 1619, flouriſhed exceedingly, the country being extremely pleaſant and fruitful, and the air much more wholeſome than in any other part of *America* [q]. As for the iſland of *Barbadoes*, which had been regularly planted about the beginning of the king's reign, it was granted to the earl of *Carliſle*, who gave ſuch encouragement to all who were inclined to go thither, and moſt of thoſe who went became ſo ſpeedily rich, that it was quickly well peopled, and, even within this period, was eſteemed the moſt po-

[o] Ibid. p. 79. [p] Ibid. p. 323. [q] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 446.

pulous of all our plantations [r]. The iſlands of St. *Chriſtopher* and *Nevis* were alſo ſettled about this time.

I am now to take notice of ſuch ſeamen as flouriſhed within the compaſs of this reign, and have not hitherto been particularly mentioned.

MEMOIRS of Sir ROBERT MANSEL.

SIR ROBERT MANSEL claims the firſt place, amongſt theſe, though the memoirs we have of him, are far from being ſo full as might be wiſhed. He was deſcended from a very ancient, and now noble family in *Glamorganſhire*, being the third ſon of ſir *Edward Manſel*, knt. by his wife the lady *Jane*, daughter to *Henry* earl of *Worceſter* [s]. He addicted himſelf early to the ſea, and under the patronage of the famous lord *Howard* of *Effingham*, lord high-admiral of *England*, came to be a conſiderable officer in the fleet, and in the *Cadiz* expedition, recieved the honour of knighthood from the earl of *Eſſex* [t], who thence forward recieved him into his ſpecial favour; and in the *Iſland-voyage* he was captain of the admiral's own ſhip [u]. Upon his return he adhered to his old patron the earl of *Nottingham*, and ſo remained in queen *Elizabeth*'s favour during all her reign, in which he was often employed at ſea, eſpecially in the defence of the coaſt, and in this ſervice was remarkably ſucceſsful [w]. On the acceſſion of king *James* he was continued in his poſt of vice-admiral, to which he had been raiſed by the intereſt of

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[r] Ibid. p. 3. [s] Collin's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p 269. [t] Camden's Annals, p. 726. [u] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 189. [w] See Stowe's Annals, ſir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, &c.

of the earl of *Nottingham*, and remained in favour for ſeveral years. When the lord high-admiral's enemies had ſo far alienated his majeſty's affections as to procure a commiſſion for reforming abuſes in the navy; (which was equally detrimental to his reputation and authority) ſir *Robert Manſel* choſe rather to adhere to his friend, than to make court at his expence, and with this view adviſed his lordſhip not to ſubmit to this commiſſion, for which ſir *Robert* was committed priſoner to the *Marſhalſea*, and continued there ſome months, in the year 1613[x]. In conſequence of this enquiry, many abuſes were really diſcovered and corrected; ſo that 25,000 *l.* a year were ſoon after ſaved to the crown[y]; from a juſt ſenſe of which, ſir *Robert* adviſed his patron to reſign his high office, perceiving that he began to out-live his abilities, and that his longer continuance therein might be prejudicial both to the public and himſelf.

To prevent the navy from receiving any prejudice by the earl of *Nottingham*'s reſignation, ſir *Robert Manſel* applied himſelf to the duke of *Buckingham*, whom he adviſed to obtain that office; and when he excuſed himſelf on account of his youth and want of experience, told him plainly, why he thought him fitteſt for the place. He obſerved, that in time of peace the beſt ſervice that could be done was to repair the navy, and to rebuild ſuch ſhips as wanted it; and that by applying himſelf aſſiduouſly to the duty of his office, he might acquire all the knowledge that was neceſſary, before any war ſhould call him into action. Thus the duke was brought into the office of high

[x] Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 460. [y] This is affirmed by king James in his ſpeech to his parliament, A. D. 1620, in Frankland's Annals, p. 49.

high-admiral by the perſuaſion of ſir *Robert Manſel*, and upon very juſt motives: neither was it at all to the prejudice of his old maſter; for the earl of *Nottingham* had a penſion of 1000 *l.* a year, and the duke made a preſent to the counteſs of *Nottingham* of 3000 *l.* This tranſaction happened in 1616, and in conſequence thereof, ſir *Robert Manſel* was made vice-admiral for life. The duke by advice did another thing, which was very commendable. He procured a commiſſion to be granted to ſeveral able and experienced perſons for the management of the navy, which had very good effects: nay, there is ſtrong reaſon to believe, conſidering the great confuſion into which things afterwards fell, that the fleet, if it had not been for this commiſſion, would have been abſolutely ruined; whereas, by the help of it, it was ſo well preſerved, that *Buckingham* upon his impeachment acquitted himſelf better in what related thereto, than in regard to any other article [z].

In 1620, ſir *Robert Manſel* commanded the fleet fitted out againſt the pyrates of *Algiers*, of which we have given an impartial account in its proper place [a]. However unfortunate he was in the management of that expedition, yet there ſeems to be no reaſon to apprehend he was in any great fault. It is admitted, that he adviſed it from a generous and public-ſpirited motive, the deſire of raiſing the *Engliſh* reputation at ſea, and freeing our trade from the inſults of theſe rovers; but it ſeems he was ſent abroad with ſo limitted a commiſſion, and had ſo many raw and unexperienced officers employed in the fleet through

[z] See all theſe facts related, in the duke of Buckingham's anſwer, to the firſt article of his impeachment, in Frankland's Annals, p. 188. [a] See before, p. 29.

through the favour of eminent courtiers, that from theſe and other croſs accidents, he was diſabled from performing what he intended, though he did all that was in his power, and is on that account commended by the moſt knowing writers of thoſe times [b]. This unlucky affair, however, and perhaps his declining in the favour of the duke of *Buckingham*, hindered him from being employed in the reign of king *Charles*; and the very neglect of him is mentioned as one of the errors therein [c]. He continued, notwithſtanding, in poſſeſſion of his office of vice-admiral, and lived till after the breaking out of the civil wars, when he died with the reputation of being a great ſeaman, and a perſon of unblemiſhed integrity; leaving, ſo far as I have been able to learn, no iſſue [d].

In the courſe of this work, ſir *William Monſon* has frequently been mentioned as an admiral, and full as often cited as an author; we ſhall now take occaſion to throw together ſuch particulars as relate to him, and which are ſcattered in a variety of books, in order to preſerve, as entire as may be, the memory of ſo worthy a perſon, and of the principal actions by him atchieved; ſome of which he has alſo left us recorded by his own pen.

MEMOIRS of Sir WILLIAM MONSON.

THE family of *Monſon* has been long ſettled in *Lincolnſhire*, of which this gentleman was a native [e]. He

[b] See an account of this expedition, printed by authority in 1621, 4to. Ruſhworth's Collections, vol. i. p. 34. Frankland's Annals, p. 55. [c] Burchet's Naval Hiſtory, p. 370. [d] The Engliſh Baronetage, vol. i. p. 489. [e] Collin's Peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342.

He was the fourth ſon of *John Monſon*, Eſq; by *Mary* daughter of ſir *Robert Huſſey*, and was born about the year 1569 [f]. He went very early to ſea, as himſelf informs us, about the beginning of the *Spaniſh* wars, and in the condition only of a private man; his wages, according to the frugality of that time, being no more than 10 *s.* a month; from whence he was gradually advanced to the great commands he afterwards bore. His firſt voyage was in the year 1585, in which he engaged without the knowledge either of his father or mother, and wherein he ſaw the ſharpeſt ſervice he met with throughout his life. He was on board a privateer, which was but a ſmall veſſel, and in conſort with another ſtill ſmaller. They ſailed from the *Iſle of Wight* in the month of *September*, and ſoon after came up with a ſtout *Spaniſh* ſhip of 300 tons, well manned. The crew, however, of the two privateers reſolved to board her, which they did towards evening; but the wind growing high, and the night dark, their veſſels fell off, and they were left on board the *Spaniards*. The fight continued all night, with variety of ſucceſs; but at laſt, about ſeven in the morning, the *Spaniards* [g] yielded. In 1587, he had the command of a ſhip, and was employed afterwards throughout the whole reign of the queen.

In the year 1589, he ſerved as vice-admiral in the earl of *Cumberland*'s fleet, and did excellent ſervice; but withal endured ſuch hardſhips as brought upon him a fit of ſickneſs, which detained him in *England* a whole year [h]. In 1591, he ſerved again under the command of the earl of

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[f] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 505. [g] Ibid. p. 246. [h] Ibid. p. 505.

of *Cumberland*, when he had the misfortune to be taken by the *Spaniards*, and remained a priſoner near two years [j]. This did not diſcourage him from acting under the earl again, as ſoon almoſt as he had recovered his liberty, in the year 1593 [k]. In the famous expedition to *Cadiz*, in the year 1596, he was captain of the *Repulſe*, the earl of *Eſſex*'s own ſhip, to whom he did great ſervice, by his wiſe and moderate counſel, and was, therefore very deſervedly knighted [l]. In the *Iſland-voyage* he commanded the *Rainbow*; and if the earl of *Eſſex* had then followed the informations he gave him, he had certainly taken moſt of the *Spaniſh* galleons [m]. In 1599, he had the command of the *Defiance* in the *Downs*, and in 1602, being vice-admiral, he had the good luck to take a great carrack of 1600 tons, which with its cargo was worth a million of pieces of eight [n]. In 1602 he was at ſea again, and had the command of a ſquadron, in which, though he performed no great ſervice, yet he brought it home ſafely through many perils [o]. I have not gone into the particulars of theſe ſervices, becauſe they have been all of them treated at large in the former volume, and with due reſpect to the accounts given of them by this gentleman in his writings; ſo that to have entered into the circumſtances of them here, would have involved us in needleſs repetitions.

AT the acceſſion of king *James*, no ſeaman appeared to have a fairer title to his favour than ſir *William Monſon*, whoſe attachment to his intereſt had engaged the lords

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[j] Ibid. p. 179. & 504. [k] Ibid. p. 181. [l] Ibid. p. 184. [m] Ibid. p. 189. [n] See the naval hiſtory of queen Elizabeth, vol. i. p. 424. [o] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 189.

lords of the privy-council to place an extraordinary confidence in his management of the fleet, of which we have before taken notice [p]. It does not, however appear, that sir *William* throughout the course of that reign, received any extraordinary gratifications, but rather the contrary. He had the charge of the narrow seas for twelve years, that is, from the beginning of the year 1604, to the year 1616, in which time he did remarkable service [q], in supporting the honour of the *English* flag against the encroachments of the *Dutch* and *French*, and in his remarkable voyage round *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, to scour the seas of pyrates, of which likewise we have given an account in its proper place [r].

AFTER so many and so great services rendered to the crown, and so many years spent in duty to his country, sir *William* had the misfortune to fall into disgrace, and to find all that he had done, and all that he had advised, which perhaps was of no less consequence, misunderstood, and turned to his disadvantage. As this is the most remarkable part of his personal history, so it seems to deserve our and the reader's attention on another account, I mean the relation it has to the state of maritime affairs in those days; and, therefore, I shall give as clear and concise an account thereof as I can. It is a very dangerous thing either to offend the great, or incur the dislike of the many. Sir *William Monson* was so unlucky to run into both these misfortunes; the former he incurred through a desire of serving his country, and the latter by his zeal in discharging his duty on a ticklish occasion. His great knowledge

[p] Naval History of king James in this vol. p. 3, 4. [q] Ibid. 9—14. [r] Ibid. p. 15.

knowledge in maritime affairs, and the confidence which the ſeamen had in him, brought to his view moſt of the grievances in the navy, which he honeſtly laboured to redreſs. This gave riſe to a commiſſion for that purpoſe, that has been often mentioned, and that commiſſion gave great diſtaſte to the earl of *Nottingham*, then lord high-admiral, and to thoſe who under him had the chief management of the fleet. It went on notwithſtanding, a great reformation was made, and the king ſaved abundance of money in this article; which, however, did not leſſen the ſpleen conceived againſt ſir *William Monſon*, for having ſet this deſign on foot [s]. The other accident which hurt him with the people was this: the lady *Arabella* having made her eſcape, orders were ſent to ſir *William Monſon* to prevent, if poſſible, her getting either into *France* or *Flanders*; and though he did not receive theſe orders till twenty-four hours after her departure, yet he executed them moſt effectually, and re-took her in a bark bound for *Calais*, within four miles of that place [t]. This was the ſame lady concerning whom ſo much noiſe had been made in the buſineſs of ſir *Walter Raleigh*'s plot; and as ſhe was a great object of popular pity, ſo upon this occaſion many ſtrange ſtories were circulated, which ſerved to raiſe the odium for retaking her; though it was his duty, and what the court ought to have looked upon as an important ſervice [u]. The *Dutch* too, who were angry

[s] Ruſhworth's Collections, Frankland's Annals, Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. [t] Winwood's Memorials, vol. iii. p. 280. This lady is in moſt of our hiſtorians called the lady Arabella, but in the proclamation publiſhed upon her flight, and which is extant in Rymer's Fœdera, vol. xvi. p. 710, ſhe is ſtiled the lady Arbella, and ſo ſhe wrote her name. [u] See the introduction to the 2d book of his Naval Tracts.

angry with him for his conduct in the narrow ſeas, found means to do him ill offices; ſo that upon ſome very ſlight pretences he was committed cloſe priſoner to the *Tower* in 1616 [w]: but after he had been examined by the chief juſtice *Coke* and ſecretary *Winwood*, he was diſcharged; and he afterwards wrote a large vindication of his conduct, while admiral in the narrow ſeas.

He very ſoon recovered his credit; for in 1617, we find him called to council, in order to give his opinion, how the *Algerines* might be beſt reduced [x]. In the ſucceeding reign, of which we are now ſpeaking, he had likewiſe a great intereſt, and his advice was aſked in all maritime affairs; but, as he differed in opinion from thoſe who were then in poſſeſſion of power and favour, and as he cenſured the expedition to *Rhee*, and that againſt *Cadiz*, we need not wonder that he was not employed [y]. Yet in 1635, when the king came to have better notions of things, and to be truly concerned for his ſovereignty of the ſeas, ſir *William Monſon* was appointed vice-admiral of the fleet, commanded by the earl of *Lindſey*; which effectually vindicated the king's honour, and the rights of the nation [z]. After this he ſpent his days in privacy and peace, and about the year 1640 [a], compoſed that work of his, of which we have made ſo great uſe, and of which, conſidering its ſubject, I think it cannot be amiſs to give a ſhort account.

It is divided into ſix books, all on different ſubjects, and yet all equally curious and inſtructive. The firſt book is, for

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[w] Camden's Annals of king James, in Kennet's Compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 646. [x] Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts, p. 250. [y] Ibid. p. 258,—277. [z] Ibid. p. 290. [a] Ibid. p. 295.

for the moſt part, a collection of every year's actions in the wars againſt *Spain*, on our own; upon the *Spaniſh* coaſts, and in the *Weſt-Indies*. A brief narrative; for no more is ſaid, but the force they were undertaken with, and the ſucceſs of the enterprize: yet the deſign is to ſhew the reaſons, either why they miſcarried, or why ſo little advantage was made where they ſucceeded. In ſome he is more particular than in others; and, what perhaps may be ſtill of uſe, he at laſt ſets down the abuſes in the fleet, and the methods for redreſſing them. His ſecond book continues ſomewhat of the method of the firſt, beginning with fatherly inſtructions to his ſon; whence he proceeds to the peace with *Spain*, which puts an end to the warlike naval actions, yet not to his command, being afterwards employed againſt pyrates. He inveighs againſt the *Dutch*, ſhews the ill management of a deſign againſt *Algier*, and makes very curious remarks on the attempt upon *Cadiz*, by king *Charles* the firſt; propoſing methods how *Spain* might have been much more endangered; with other particulars about the ſhipping of *England*, and ſovereignty of the ſeas. The third book only treats of the admiralty; that is, of all things relating to the royal navy, from the lord high-admiral, to the meaneſt perſon employed aſhore, and to the cabin-boys at ſea; and from a compleat fleet to the ſmalleſt veſſel; and the part of it; with inſtructions for all officers, the ſize of all ſorts of guns, all kinds of allowances on board the king's ſhips, and excellent directions for fighting at ſea; an account of all the harbours in theſe three kingdoms, with many other, and thoſe important matters, for thoſe times, accurately handled. The fourth book is of different nature from any of the reſt, being a brief collection of *Spaniſh* and *Portugueze* diſcoveries, and conqueſts in *Africa*, *Aſia*, and *America*; with ſome

voyages round the world, and ſomewhat of *Engliſh* and *French* plantations. The fifth book is full of projects and ſchemes for managing affairs at ſea, to the beſt advantage for the nation. The ſixth, and laſt, treats of fiſhing, to ſhew the infinite addition of wealth and ſtrength it would bring to *England*; with ſuch inſtructions as are neceſſary for putting ſuch a deſign in execution [b].

The writing and collecting theſe pieces, were the laſt efforts of his genius; for he died in the month of *February* 1642, being in the 73d year of his age, at *Kynnerſley* in *Surry*, the place he had choſen for his retirement, and where he left a numerous poſterity [c].

As for ſir *John Pennington*, ſir *Henry Marom*, and ſome other ſeamen who roſe in this reign to be admirals, we meet with nothing relating to them of importance enough to deſerve the attention of the reader, or which can any way tend to the enlightning this part of our hiſtory; and therefore, we ſhall conclude our account of this reign, with a liſt of the ſhips added to the royal navy by king *Charles* I. [d].

Ships.	Men in harbour.	Men at ſea.
Ten Whelps	3	60, ſome 70
The Henrietta Pinnace	3	25
The Mary Pinnace	3	25
The Charles	9	250
The Henrietta-Maria	9	250
The James	9	260
The Victory	9	250
The Leopard	7	170
The Swallow	6	150
The Sovereign		

CHAP.

[b] Theſe tracts are printed in the 3d volume of Churchill's collection of voyages. It is very plain from the prefaces and dedications, that the author intended them for the preſs, though he did not live to publiſh them. [c] Collins's peerage of England, vol. iv. p. 342. [d] Sir William Monſon's naval tracts, p. 277.

CHAP. III.

The Naval History of GREAT-BRITAIN, *from the breaking out of the civil war to the reſtoration of king* Charles II. *comprehending an account of all the ſtruggles between king and parliament for the command of the fleet, the revolt of part of it to the prince of* Wales, *the* Dutch *war, the diſputes with* France, *the war with* Spain; *and the memoirs of ſuch famous ſeamen as flouriſhed within this ſpace of time.*

WHEN the diſputes between king *Charles* I. and his parliament, were grown to ſuch a height, that both parties thought the ſhorteſt and moſt effectual method of deciding them was to have recourſe to the ſword, it was natural for them to be extremely ſollicitous about the fleet, for many reaſons; and for this particularly, that whoever was maſter of that, would be conſidered as the ſupreme power by foreign princes *. The earl of *Northumberland* was at this time lord high-admiral: the king had given him that commiſſion, to ſatisfy the houſe of commons, who had

* Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p 217. Whitlock's memorials, Echard, Rapin, &c.

had a confidence in him; and had granted it during pleaſure only, becauſe his intention was to confer that office on his ſon the duke of *York*, as ſoon as he became of age [b]. Sir *Robert Manſel* was vice-admiral of *England*; a gentleman very loyal, but withal, far in years. Sir *John Pennington* was vice-admiral of the fleet then in the *Downs*, and ſir *John Mennes* was rear-admiral; both well affected to his majeſty. The parliament, however, having formed a project of diſpoſſeſſing the king of his fleet, executed it ſucceſsfully; notwithſtanding theſe circumſtances ſo favourable for his majeſty, and though he had the affections of the ſeamen, whoſe wages he had raiſed, and for whom he had always ſhewn a very particular eſteem [c]. This was one of the moſt extraordinary things they did, was of the utmoſt conſequence to their affairs, and therefore we ſhall give a ſhort and impartial account of the ſteps they took to accompliſh it.

In the ſpring of the year, 1641, the parliament deſired, that is, in effect directed, the earl of *Northumberland*, to provide a ſtrong fleet for the nation's ſecurity by ſea, and appropriated a proper fund for this ſervice. They next deſired, that he would appoint the earl of *Warwick* admiral of that fleet, on account of his own indiſpoſition, which rendered it impoſſible for him to command in perſon [d]. The king took this ill, and inſiſted on ſir *John Pennington*'s keeping his command; but the earl had ſo much reſpect to the parliament's recommendation, that he ordered the

[b] Clarendon's hiſtory of the rebellion, p. 157, the Oxford edition in folio 1732. [c] Clarendon, ubi ſupra. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, Heath's chronicle, Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin. [d] Clarendon, ubi ſupra. Hiſt. of the revolutions in England by Father d'Orleans, Warwick's memoirs, Echard.

the fleet to be delivered up to the earl of *Warwick*, and granted him a commiſſion to command it, as by his own he had power to do. This was one great point gained. The parliament then would have made captain *Cartwright*, comptroller of the navy, vice-admiral in the room of ſir *John Pennington*; but he refuſing to undertake this ſervice, without the king's permiſſion, his majeſty was pleaſed to ſignify his pleaſure, that he ſhould decline it; which he did, and the parliament thereupon appointed one *Batten*, vice-admiral, who was remarkably diſaffected towards the king; and their orders being complied with, the fleet in the ſpring of 1642, fell into their hands, though the king was perſuaded in his mind, that he could at any time recover it, which was the true reaſon of his not removing the earl of *Northumberland* from his high office [e]. It was not long before he had good reaſon to change his opinion; for the queen, ſending his majeſty a ſmall ſupply from *Holland*, in *The Providence*, the only ſhip the king had left, the ſhips from the *Downs* chaſed it into the *Humber*, and forced the captain to run it aſhore. Upon this, the king reſolved to attempt ſeizing the fleet; and the deſign, had it been executed as well as it was laid, might very probably have taken effect; but through the miſmanagement of ſir *John Pennington* it miſcarried, and ſerved only to defeat the king's hopes for the future, by affording the earl of *Warwick* an opportunity of removing all the king's friends, which he had long wanted, and now made the utmoſt uſe of it poſſible [f].

THE parliament, as they had diſcovered great care and induſtry in ſecuring, ſo they ſhewed no leſs wiſdom in the

[e] Clarendon's hiſt. p. 158. Kennet, Rapin. [f] Clarendon's hiſt. p. 220. Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

conduct of the fleet, which they always kept in good order and well paid. In 1643, vice-admiral *Batten*, having intelligence, that the queen intended to go by ſea from *Holland*, into the north of *England*, he did his utmoſt to intercept her, though on board a *Dutch* man of war. This proving ineffectual, he chaſed the ſhip into *Burlington-Bay*; and when the queen was landed, having intelligence that ſhe was lodged in a houſe upon the key, he fired upon it, ſo that many of the ſhot went through her chamber, and ſhe was obliged, though very much indiſpoſed, to retire for ſhelter, or rather for ſafety, into the open fields [g]. This ſervice, which was performed in the month of *February*, was very grateful to the parliament, becauſe it ſhewed how much the officers of the fleet at leaſt, were in their intereſt. In the month of *September*, in the ſame year, they ſent their orders to the earl of *Warwick*, to attempt the relief of *Exeter*, which he performed with great zeal, but with indifferent ſucceſs; for ſailing up the river, which runs by the walls of the town, in hopes of conveying ſuccour that way into the place, he found ſome works thrown up on the ſhore, which hindered him from diſturbing the beſiegers ſo much as he expected: and yet lying there too long with this view, the tide falling, he was forced to leave three of his ſhips behind him; two of which were taken, and the third burnt in his preſence [h]. He did, however, great ſervice on the coaſt of *Devonſhire*, ſecured *Plymouth* and other places, and, all the time he commanded, kept the fleet firm to the parliament [i].

So

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[g] Clarendon's hiſt. p 283. Warwick's memoirs, 237. Father d'Orleans's hiſt. of the revolutions in England, p. 66. [h] Clarendon's hiſt. p. 346. [i] Whitlock, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

So long as the preſbyterian party were uppermoſt, all affairs relating to the navy went on ſmoothly. The earl of *Warwick* was entirely devoted to them, and ſo were all the officers by him appointed. Every ſummer a ſtout ſquadron was fitted out to ſerve as occaſion required, and by this means the trade of the nation was tollerably protected [k]. But in the year 1648, when the independants came by their intrigues to prevail, things took a new turn, and it was reſolved to remove the earl of *Warwick* from his command, notwithſtanding the ſervices he had performed, and to make colonel *Rainſborough* admiral. This gentleman had been bred a ſeaman, and was the ſon of a commander of diſtinction; but had for ſome time ſerved as an officer in the parliament-army, and was then a colonel of foot. When this news came to the fleet in the *Downs*, it put the ſeamen into great confuſion, and their officers, the earl of *Warwick* and vice-admiral *Batten*, were ſo little pleaſed with the uſage they had met with, that inſtead of ſoftening, they augmented their diſcontents; inſomuch, that they ſeized upon *Rainſborough*, and ſuch officers as adhered to him, ſet them on ſhore, and reſolved to ſail over to *Holland*, in order to take on board the duke of *York*, whom they called their admiral; becauſe the king's intention of making him ſo, was a thing generally known [l]. Though the king was then a priſoner, and his affairs reduced to a very low ebb, yet, if this revolt of the fleet had been properly managed, it might have had very happy effects: but as it was conducted, it

[k] Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin. [l] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 528. Heath's Chronicle, p. 175. Warwick's Memoirs, p. 316. Father d'Orleans Hiſtory of the Revolutions in England, p. 116.

is ſcarce poſſible to conceive how little advantage was drawn from an accident which promiſed ſo much. It is true, the parliament, upon the firſt intimation of the growing diſaffection among the ſeamen, had directed but half the uſual proviſions to be put on board the fleet. This might have been eaſily remedied, conſidering that *Kent* was in arms for the king, and many of its inhabitants went on board the fleet, in order to do him all the ſervice they could. The great misfortune was, that this ſtrange turn was entirely concerted by the ſeamen; ſo that when they declared for the king, they had very few officers among them; and as they were little inclined to uſe the advice of any who were not of their own profeſſion, there was a good deal of time loſt before they poſitively reſolved what to do, which gave the parliament an opportunity of recovering themſelves from the conſternation into which this unexpected event had thrown them; and the firſt reſolution they took was a very wiſe one, *viz.* the reſtoring the earl of *Warwick* to his title and command, ſending him orders to draw together a fleet as ſoon as poſſible [m].

THIS revolted fleet (if we can properly call it ſo) which at laſt ſailed for *Calais*, conſiſted of ſeventeen good ſhips; and for the preſent the parliament had nothing near the ſame force to oppoſe them [n]. They left a ſhip riding before the place laſt mentioned, to receive the prince of *Wales*, and then proceeded for *Holland*. Soon after, both the prince and the duke came on board, with many perſons of quality, who were now abroad with them in exile.

Inſtead

[m] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 531. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 102. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. [n] Bates's hiſtory of the Troubles in England, p. 100.

Inſtead of conſidering what ſervice the fleet might beſt be employed in, thoſe who were about the princes fell into intrigues for obtaining the command, and the contending parties filling the ſeamen's heads with very different ſtories, that ſpirit of loyalty was quickly extinguiſhed, which had induced them to take this extraordinary ſtep [o]. In the midſt of theſe diſputes, admiral *Batten* came in with the *Conſtant Warwick*, one of the beſt ſhips in the parliament navy, and ſeveral ſeamen of note. The prince of *Wales* upon this occaſion took a very wiſe reſolution: he knighted *Batten*, and made him rear-admiral, his brother the duke of *York* having before made the lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, who was alſo a new convert from the parliament-party, vice-admiral [p]. As the fleet conſiſted now of about twenty ſail, it was judged proper to enter upon action, and two ſchemes were propoſed: the firſt was, to ſail to the *Iſle* of *Wight*, to reſcue the king, which might certainly have been effected; the other, to enter the river of *Thames*, in order to awe the city of *London*, by interrupting their trade; and to infeeble the parliament, by hindring their ſupplies of ſeamen from the outward-bound ſhips: which ſcheme was thought the moſt practicable, or perhaps the moſt profitable, and was therefore immediately carried into execution [q].

The ſucceſs of this enterprize was in the beginning very favourable; and on their coming into the mouth of the river, the prince's fleet took abundance of rich prizes, particularly a ſhip laden with cloth bound for *Rotterdam*, worth 40,000 *l.* Soon after he entered into a treaty with the

[o] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 530 Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.
[p] Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. [q] Clarendon's Hiſt. p. 531. Warwick's Memoirs, Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.

the city, which ended at laſt in a compoſition for his prizes[a]. The earl of *Warwick* in the mean while had fitted out a ſtrong fleet at *Portſmouth*, with which he came into the *Downs*, and anchored within ſight of the prince. Great endeavours were uſed on both ſides to draw over each other's ſeamen, but to no great purpoſe; at laſt, the prince reſolved to engage the enemy, which he attempted, but was prevented by the ſhifting of the wind, and then proviſions falling ſhort, it was judged expedient to ſail for the coaſt of *Holland*, where the fleet arrived ſafely; but thoſe who ſhould have commanded them were divided in opinion, and in ſuch confuſion among themſelves, that no new courſe could be reſolved on[b]. The earl of *Warwick*, who ſuſpected what would happen, and knew they could meet with no ſupplies of money to enable them to pay the fleet, followed them in their retreat, and ſent to the ſtates of *Holland*, requiring them to oblige certain ſhips, which had revolted from the parliament of *England*, to put to ſea.

THE ſtates were very much embarraſſed in forming a reſolution what to do in this critical juncture: they were unwilling to break with the parliament's admiral; but on the other hand, it would have been a reproach to them, to have ſuffered the prince of *Wales* to be inſulted on their coaſts, and in their harbours. In the mean time, both parties being excited by hatred as well as neceſſity to fight, it was difficult to prevent it: both ſides at firſt flattered themſelves with the hopes of a victory, becauſe both ſides were perſuaded the ſhips of their antagoniſt would deſert

[a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 536. Heath's Chronicle, p. 176. Columna Roſtrata, p. 86. Whitlock, Rapin. [b] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p 537.

deſert and come over to them. The firſt ſtep the ſtates took, was to give orders to the admiralty of *Rotterdam*, to fit out every ſhip they had, with all poſſible expedition, and to fall down the river to prevent the two fleets coming to an engagement. In the mean time, they ſent four deputies on board the two admirals, to beg of them in the name of the ſtates, not to undertake any thing on their coaſts, and in the very ſight of their harbours, which might affect the ſovereignty of their republic.

THE prince of *Wales* was the moſt tractable, becauſe his ſailors, being badly paid, deſerted; and even ſome of his ſhips and officers, which had ſo lately left the parliament to go over to him, had now left him, and took part with their old maſters again. He had only fourteen ſhips left, very poorly equipped, with which he retired under the cannon of *Helvoet*, to avoid an engagement or inſult inſtead of offering any [t].

THE earl of *Warwick* upon this began to talk in a higher ſtrain, inſiſting that ſuch as were on board this fleet were deſerters, and ought to be delivered up to him; but at laſt, finding that there was little good to be done he put to ſea, and returned home; after which the fleet was put abſolutely under the command of prince *Rupert*, who determined as ſoon as he had the command to carry on a pyratical war: and thus this extraordinary accident, which properly managed, might have been a means of preſerving the king and kingdom, turned to no advantage to the former, and proved of infinite detriment to the latter, as it divided the naval force, and rendered precarious the trade of the nation. Theſe tranſactions happened between the

[t] Annales des Provinces Unies, par M. Baſnage, vol. i. p. 139.

the latter end of *July* 1648, and the close of the same year, about which time prince *Rupert* left the *Dutch* coast, in order to repair to *Ireland*. In this scheme he succeeded happily, taking many prizes in his passage, and arriving safely at last in the port of *Kinsale* [u].

The parliament, however, had now recovered their sovereignty at sea, where they kept such strong squadrons continually cruising, that it was not thought adviseable for king *Charles* II. to venture his person on that element, in order to go to *Ireland*, where his presence was necessary [w]. Yet the earl of *Warwick*, who had served them so faithfully, and with such success, was removed from the command of the fleet, which was put into the hands of land-officers, such as *Blake* and *Popham*, who, notwithstanding, behaved well, quickly gained the love of the sailors, and grew in a short time knowing seamen themselves [x]. As for prince *Rupert*, he continued cruising and making prizes, throughout the greatest part of the year 1649 [y], while the war continued hot in *Ireland*; but things taking a new turn there, entirely in the parliament's favour, orders were given by the parliament to their admirals *Blake* and *Popham*, to block up the prince's squadron in the port of *Kinsale*, which they accordingly did, and reduced them to such extremities, that his men began to desert in great numbers; so that finding his case desperate, the whole kingdom of *Ireland* in a manner conquered, all hopes of succour lost, and very indifferent terms to be hoped for from the conquerors; he at last took a desperate resolution of forcing a passage through the enemy's

[u] Clarendon's history, p. 550. Bates's history, part ii. p. 32.
[w] Clarendon's history, p. 590. [x] Whitlock, Echard, Rapin.
[y] Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Columna Rostrata, p. 87.

my's fleet, which he effected on the twenty-fourth of *October*, with the loſs, however, of three ſhips, and ſo ſailed away to the coaſt of *France* [z], where he continued to obſtruct the *Engliſh* trade, and to make prize of ſuch ſhips as fell in his way, acting entirely on his own head, and without aſking or receiving any directions from the king.

PRINCE *Rupert*, after he had made his eſcape, in the manner we have before related, out of the harbour of *Kinſale*, reſolved to ſail into the *Mediterranean*; but with what other view than that of carrying on his old trade of privateering, does not appear [a]. When he came upon the coaſt of *Spain*, his fleet ſuffered exceedingly by a ſtorm, which drove five of his ſhips into the port of *Carthagena*, where they were very ill treated by the *Spaniards*, who plundered two of the ſhips, and compelled many of the men to enter againſt their will into their ſervice [b]. A fleet belonging to the parliament, under the command of *Blake* and *Popham*, arrived ſoon after at St. *Andero*, and the former of thoſe admirals wrote from thence a letter in ſtrong terms to the king of *Spain*, demanding that both ſhips and men, in caſe any of prince *Rupert*'s were in his power, ſhould be delivered up; with threats in caſe they were refuſed. To this a very civil anſwer was given; and a ring, worth 1500 *l.* was ſent to the admiral, as a token of the king of *Spain*'s reſpect [c]. After this, *Blake* followed prince *Rupert* into the river of *Liſbon*, where in the months of *September* and *October* 1650,

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[z] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 595. Heath's Chronicle, p. 254. Bates's hiſtory, part ii. p. 32. Columna Roſtrata, p. 87. [a] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 595. Columna Roſtrata, p. 87. [b] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 595. [c] Id. ibid.

1650, he ruined the *Braſil* fleet; which induced the *Portugueze* to force prince *Rupert* out of their port, whence he ſailed to *Carthagena*. *Blake* purſued him thither; but being obliged for want of proviſions to put to ſea, his highneſs eſcaped to *Malaga*, where he took ſeveral *Engliſh* ſhips, 'till *Blake* came thither and fell upon his ſmall ſquadron, which conſiſted now but of five ſhips. One of theſe he drove aſhore, burnt two more, and forced prince *Rupert* himſelf to make his eſcape through *Spain* [d]. His highneſs ſoon after went to ſea again, cruized now on the *Spaniards* and *Genoeſe*, as well as the *Engliſh* [e], and having taken ſeveral rich prizes, ſailed to the *Weſt-Indies*, whither his brother prince *Maurice*, with a ſmall ſquadron, was gone before. In thoſe ſeas they did likewiſe a great deal of miſchief, till prince *Maurice* in the *Conſtant Reformation* was caſt away [f]; and prince *Rupert*, finding the few ſhips he had left, ſo leaky and rotten, that they were ſcarce able to keep the ſea, was glad to return to *France*; and arriving in the port of *Nantes* in the year 1652, with a man of war, and three or four other ſhips, he was forced to ſell them to pay the people's wages [g]. Such was the end of about twenty-five good ſhips well manned, which had deſerted the parliament ſervice! and the reader will eaſily judge, how great a loſs this was to the nation, more eſpecially as it was ſoon after engaged in the *Dutch* war.

ADMIRAL

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[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 275, 276. Columna Roſtrata, p. 88. Life of Blake, Bates's Hiſtory of the Troubles, &c. Life of prince Rupert. [e] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 596. [f] Columna Roſtrata, p. 88. Bates's Hiſtory of the Troubles, p. 74. Britiſh empire in America. [g] Clarendon's Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p. 652. Heath's Chronicle, p. 337.

ADMIRAL *Blake* on his return to *England*, was received with great favour by the parliament, had the thanks of the houſe given him, and in conjunction with *Deane* and *Popham*, had the ſupreme power at ſea veſted in him for the year 1651 [h]. The firſt exploit that his maſters thought of, was the reduction of the iſlands of *Scilly*, which were ſtill held for the king by ſir *John Greenville*. The privateers fitted out from thence, did a great deal of miſchief to trade, and, therefore, might well have deſerved the parliament's notice; but there was another incident which made them particularly uneaſy at that juncture; and this was the arrival of a *Dutch* ſquadron there, of twelve men of war, commanded by admiral *Van Tromp* [i]. The pretence of ſending him, was to demand ſatisfaction of the governor for about twenty prizes, which in a ſhort ſpace had been carried into his ports by his privateers: but the true deſign was to drive a bargain with him, if poſſible, for thoſe iſlands; which might have had very bad conſequences, had it been carried into execution. Admiral *Blake* in the *Phœnix* frigate, in conjunction with ſir *George Ayſcue*, with a ſmall fleet ſailed thither in the month of *May*, and very quickly performed what they were ſent for, the governor being glad to deliver up his charge upon honourable terms, and the admiral as willing to grant all he could reaſonably expect [k]. Thence *Blake* ſailed with the fleet to *Jerſey*, where he arrived in the month of *October*, and reduced it by the end of the year;

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[h] Ruſhworth's Collections, Heath's Chronicle, Life of Blake
[i] Heath's Chronicle, p. 288, 289. Bates's hiſtory of the Troubles, Life of Blake. [k] The original articles, a MS. in folio of two ſheets, are ſtill preſerved in the library of the ſociety for propagating the goſpel in foreign parts.

as he did likewiſe *Cornet-Caſtle*, which was the only place held out for the king in *Guernſey*, and thus ſecured the ſovereignty of the ſea in this part of the world for the parliament [l].

Sir *George Ayſcue*, after the reduction of *Scilly*, having ſtrengthened his fleet with ſome ſhips, ſailed into the *Weſt-Indies*, in order to reduce ſuch of the plantations as had declared for the king. On board his fleet ſailed colonel *Allen*, a gentleman of *Barbadoes*, who had been ſent by ſuch, in that colony and the *Leeward-Iſlands*, as were well affected to the parliament to demand relief. This fleet arrived in *Carliſle-Bay* in *Barbadoes*, on the ſixteenth of *October* 1651, and took fourteen ſail of *Dutch* ſhips that were trading there. *Francis* lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, whom we before-mentioned, was governor of the iſland for the king, and ſhewed ſo good an inclination to defend himſelf, that it was the ſeventeenth of *December* before admiral *Ayſcue* thought fit to attempt landing; which at laſt he effected with ſome loſs, colonel *Allen* with between thirty and forty men, being killed in the attempt. After his forces were on ſhore, the governor thought fit to capitulate, and had very fair conditions given him; for which it is thought admiral *Ayſcue* was never forgiven by his maſters at home [m]. While he lay at *Barbadoes*, he ſent a few ſhips under captain *Dennis* to reduce *Virginia*, which with ſome trouble he effected. Sir *George* likewiſe ſubdued the *Leeward* iſlands; and having thus throughly fulfilled his commiſſion he returned into *Europe*, where, as

[l] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 636. Heath's Chronicle, p. 306. Bates's Hiſtory of the Troubles, &c. [m] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18. Heath's Chronicle, p. 323, Columna Roſtrata, p. 98.

as we ſhall ſee, he found the *Dutch* war already broke out [n].

THE cauſes of this war are very differently related according to the humours and opinions of different writers; the truth, however, ſeems to be, that the old common-wealth was jealous of the new one, and began to apprehend, that, whatever the reſt of the world might be, *Holland* was like to be no gainer by the change of government in *England*. The parliament, on the other ſide, was very jealous of its new-acquired ſovereignty, and expected, therefore, extraordinary marks of regard from all the powers with which it correſponded [o]. The murder of dr. *Doriſlaus*, whom they had ſent with a public character to the ſtates, incenſed them exceedingly; nor were they better ſatisfied with the reception that St. *John* and the reſt of their ambaſſadors met with; and, therefore, had little regard to the expoſtulation of the *Dutch*, about their act of navigation, which was certainly a well-contrived meaſure, both for preſerving, and for extending the trade of this nation. The *Dutch*, on the other hand, were extremely alarmed, when they found the *Engliſh* common-wealth inſiſt on the ſovereignty of the ſea, the right of fiſhing, and licenſing to fiſh, diſpoſed to carry the point of the flag to the utmoſt height, and behaving ſo in all reſpects, that the ſtates were convinced they would act upon king *Charles*'s plan, with this great advantage of raiſing money in much larger ſums, and yet with far leſs trouble than he did [p]. It was in the ſpring of the year

[n] Heath's Chronicle, p. 323.

[o] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 634, Columna Roſtrata, p. 89—95.

[p] The reader, if he inclines to enter deep into the reaſons on which the Dutch war was grounded

1652, that things came to extremities, but it was warmly disputed then, and is not fully settled at this day who were the aggressors. From the best comparison I have been able to make of facts stated in all the authentic accounts on both sides, it seems to me most probable, that the *Dutch* were the aggressors: and this for many reasons; but particularly, because they made secretly great preparations for war, and had actually one hundred and fifty ships of force at sea; whereas the *English* parliament equipped no more than the usual squadron for guarding the narrow seas, which was under the command of admiral *Blake*, and consisted of twenty-five ships only [s].

THE first blood that was drawn in this quarrel, was occasioned by commodore *Young*'s firing upon a *Dutch* man of war, for refusing him the honour of the flag. This was on the 14th of *May* 1652, and proved very honourable for our nation. Com. *Young* acted with great caution, and gave the *Dutch* all the opportunity of avoiding a dispute that they could desire. He sent his boat on the *Dutchman* to persuade him to strike; but the captain answered plainly and honestly, that the states had threatened to take off his head, if he struck: and upon this the fight began, in which the enemy was so roughly handled, as to be obliged to strike. There were two other ships of war, and about twelve merchant-men, none of which interfered; and on the other side, after the *Dutch* ships had taken in their flags, commodore *Young* retired without making any prizes. This affair would have been more talked

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grounded, may consult Whitlock, Clarendon, Holles, Rushworth, &c. on one side; and Basnage, Le Clerc, Wicquefort, and the lives of Dutch admirals on the other.

[s] Heath's Chronicle, p. 314. Clarendon's Columna Rostrata.

talked of, if an engagement of greater conſequence had not happened quickly after [1];

ADMIRAL *Van Tromp* was at ſea with a fleet of upwards of forty ſail, to protect (as was given out) the *Dutch* trade. This fleet coming into the *Downs* on the 18th of *May*, they met there with a ſmall ſquadron, under the command of major *Bourne*, to whom the admiral ſent word, that he was forced in, by ſtreſs of weather; *Bourne* anſwered roundly, this would beſt appear by the ſhortneſs of his ſtay, and ſent advice of it to his admiral. The next day *Van Tromp* with his fleet bore down upon *Blake* in *Dover* road, and on his coming near him, *Blake* fired thrice at his flag; upon which the *Dutch* admiral returned a broad-ſide. For near four hours *Blake* was engaged almoſt alone, but by degrees the weather permitted his fleet to come in, and then they behaved bravely. Towards the cloſe of the engagement, which laſted from four in the afternoon till nine at night, *Bourne* came in with his eight ſhips; upon which the enemy bore away. In this battel the victory was clearly on the ſide of the *Engliſh*, as the *Dutch* writers themſelves confeſs, there being two *Dutch* ſhips taken, and one diſabled; whereas, the *Engliſh* loſt none: and yet the inequality was very great; for the *Dutch* fleet conſiſted at firſt of forty-two ſhips, and *Blake's* only of fifteen; and at the end of the fight, he had no more than twenty-three. The admirals wrote each of them an account of this affair to their reſpective maſters; wherein they plainly contradict each other: but with this difference, that there is no diſproving any fact mentioned in *Blake's* letter; whereas there are ſeveral falſhoods or

[1] This account I take from Young's letter to the parliament.

miſtakes at leaſt in *Tromps*; ſuch as, that *Bourne*'s ſquadron conſiſted of twelve large ſhips, which could not be true. Beſides, though he inſiſts on *Blake*'s being the aggreſſor, yet he owns, that his flag was out all the time. The ſtates themſelves were ſo ſenſible of their being in the wrong, and at the ſame time that their fleet notwithſtanding its ſuperiority, had been beat, that they apologized for it, and ſent over another ambaſſador the *Heer Adrian Paauw* to proceed on the treaty. But the demands of the parliament were too high, and ſo all thoughts of peace were laid by on both ſides, and the war was proclaimed in *Holland* on the 8th of *July* *.

THE *Engliſh* in the mean time, by virtue of the act of navigation, and by way of repriſal and requital for the late damages, affronts and hoſtilities, received from the ſtates-general and their ſubjects, took many *Dutch* ſhips. *June* 11, *Blake* brought in eleven merchant-ſhips with their convoy coming from *Nantes*. *June* 12, the captains *Taylor* and *Peacock*, in two *Engliſh* frigates, engaged two *Dutch* men of war, on the coaſt of *Flanders*, for refuſing to ſtrike; of which one was taken, and the other ſtranded: and on the 13th of the ſame month, *Blake* took twenty-ſix merchant-ſhips, with three convoys homeward bound from *France*. *July* 4, vice-admiral *Ayſcue* (who, in his late return from the reduction of *Barbadoes* had taken ten merchant-ſhips, and four men of war) attacked the St. *Ubes* fleet of about forty ſail, of which near thirty were taken, burnt, or ſtranded, and plundered, on the *French* coaſt. After this, while the ſtates with the utmoſt

* This account is copied from that printed by order of the parliament, with both Admirals letters and other papers annexed, 4to, 1652.

utmoſt diligence were getting ready a fleet of ſeventy men of war, under the command of *Tromp*; *Blake* with about ſixty, received orders to ſail to the north to diſturb the *Dutch* fiſhery. Sir *George Ayſcue* (who, ſince the deſtruction of the St. *Ubes* fleet, had taken five *Dutch* merchant-ſhips) was left with the remainder of the *Engliſh* fleet, conſiſting of ſeven men of war in the *Downs*. While *Blake* triumphed in the north, as we ſhall ſhew in another place, *Tromp* with his great fleet came into the mouth of the *Thames*, in hopes of ſurprizing *Ayſcue*, or inſulting the coaſt. Failing of this, he ſailed northward to intercept *Blake*; but his ſhips being diſperſed by a ſtorm, he was diſappointed in that ſcheme alſo, and loſt five or ſix frigates, which fell into the hands of *Blake*, on his return towards the ſouth [t].

THE people in *Holland* were very much diſſatisfied with the conduct of *Tromp*, which is the caſe in all free countries, where a commander in chief is unſucceſsful. He acted upon this occaſion like a wiſe man, and one who had a nice ſenſe of honour, firſt juſtifying himſelf to the ſtates, and then laying down his commiſſion to gratify the people. The main objection againſt him was his being no great ſeaman; and this engaged the ſtates to caſt their eyes upon *de Ruyter*, the ableſt man amongſt them in his profeſſion. He accepted the command unwillingly; for he ſaw that as things then ſtood, the *Engliſh* were ſuperior [u]. The parliament in the mean time took care to ſtrengthen ſir *George Ayſcue*'s fleet, ſo that it amounted to thirty-eight

[t] Ruſhworth, Heath's Chronicle, Clarendon, Baſnage, &c.
[u] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 258, 259.

ſail; of which only two were large ſhips, and the reſt frigates and fire-ſhips. With theſe he put to ſea in ſearch of the *Dutch*, took many rich prizes, and at laſt met with *de Ruyter*, who, with a fleet equal to his own, was convoying home between fifty and ſixty merchant-men. This was on the 16th of *Auguſt* 1652, and as our admiral was cruiſing off *Plymouth*. It was about one in the afternoon when the fleets came in ſight. *De Ruyter* took twenty of the merchant-ſhips into his line of battle, and was then very ready to engage. The fight began about four, when the *Engliſh* admiral with nine others charged through the *Dutch* fleet, and having thus got the weather-gage, attacked them again very bravely, and ſo they continued fighting till night, which parted them; the reſt of ſir *George*'s fleet having very little to do in the action. The rear-admiral captain *Peck* loſt his leg, of which he ſoon after died, and moſt of the captains who did their duty were wounded, and a fire-ſhip was loſt. On the other ſide, the *Dutch* were miſerably torn, ſo that many of their beſt ſhips were ſcarce able to keep the ſea. Sir *George Aſcue* followed them for ſome time the next day, and then returned into *Plymouth-Sound* to refreſh his men, and repair his ſhips *. The *Dutch* give a very partial account of this buſineſs, in which without queſtion the *Engliſh* had ſome, and might have had much greater advantage, if all their captains had behaved as they ought. This the parliament very well knew; but by a refined ſtroke of policy, choſe rather to lay the fault on a ſingle man, than indanger the obedience of the fleet, by puniſhing many: upon

* Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Columna Roſtrata, p. 101. Bates's hiſtory of the troubles in England, part ii. p. 175. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 260.

on which principle they laid aſide ſir *George Ayſcue*; but ſoftly, and with a reward of three hundred pounds in money, and three hundred pounds a year. The true reaſon of this was, his granting ſo good terms to the lord *Willoughby*, which they, however, performed very punctually [x].

THE war was not long confined to the coaſts of *Britain*, but ſpread itſelf into almoſt every ſea; and every wind brought the news of freſh deſtruction and ſlaughter. About the latter end of the ſame month, the *Dutch* admiral *Van Galen*, with a eleven men of war, met and attacked the *Engliſh* commodore *Bodley*, with three men of war, a fire-ſhip, and three or four merchant-ſhips, homeward-bound from *Scanderoon* and *Smyrna*. The firſt day's fight began in the afternoon off the iſland of *Elba*, near the coaſt of *Tuſcany* and laſted till night, with little advantage to either party. The *Dutch* hiſtorians agree, that three of their men of war being ſeparated in the night, and afterwards becalmed, could not come up ſo as to have a ſhare in the ſecond engagement. On the other ſide, the *Engliſh* parted from their merchant-ſhips, which being heavy and richly laden, were ordered to make the beſt of their way to the neareſt harbour. The next morning, the four remaining *Engliſh* being attacked by the eight *Hollanders*. the fight was renewed with great fury, *Van Galen* began a cloſe engagement with the *Engliſh* commodore, but being diſabled in his rigging, and having received three ſhots under water, and been thrice on fire, he was forced (as the *Dutch* hiſtorians confeſs) to leave him. Another of the enemy's largeſt ſhips renewing the

[x] Heath's chronicle, p. 323.

attack, was likewiſe ſo well received, that ſhe loſt her main-maſt. Whereupon the *Engliſh* frigate, the *Phœnix* taking the opportunity, boarded the diſabled *Hollander*; but being too weak was taken, after a ſharp fight of an hour, wherein moſt of her men, were either killed or wounded. In the mean time the *Engliſh* commodore *Bodley*, being again boarded by two of the enemies ſhips at once, defended himſelf ſo reſolutely, that (by the confeſſion of the *Dutch* hiſtorians) they were both beaten off with a dreadful ſlaughter of their men, and the loſs of both their captains. Whereupon *Bodley*, ſeeing himſelf left by the enemy (after having loſt about a hundred men, killed and wounded) with his three remaining ſhips followed the merchant-men to *Porto Longone*; leaving the *Hollanders* to caſt up the account of the honour and profit they had gained by this encounter. The enemy loſt three of their captains in the fight, whom they afterwards buried at *Porto Longone*, where the *Engliſh* and they, being in a neutral harbour continued very friendly together for ſome time[y].

ADMIRAL *Blake*, who was now in the channel, did infinite damage to the enemy, and ſome hoſtilities having been committed on the coaſt of *Newfoundland* by the *French*, our gallant admiral attacked a ſtrong ſquadron of their ſhips going to the relief of *Dunkirk*, took or deſtroyed them all, by which means this important place fell into the hands of the *Spaniards*[z]. The *Dutch* ſeeing their trade thus ruined, and apprehenſive of ſtill worſe conſequences, fitted out another fleet under the command of *de Wit*,

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y Columna Roſtrata, p. 103. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, p. 263.

z Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 636. Heath's chronicle, p. 325. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol i. p. 264.

Wit, and ſent it to join *de Ruyter*, who was appointed to bring home a large number of merchant-men. After the junction of theſe fleets, and the ſending the ſhips they were to convoy, into *Holland*; the admirals ſhewed a deſign of attacking the *Engliſh* navy, and *Blake* gave them a fair opportunity of executing their intention. But when it came to the point, the *Dutch* fleet covered themſelves behind a ſand-bank; which, however, did not hinder *Blake* from engaging them on the 28th of *September*. He divided his fleet into three ſquadrons: the firſt commanded by himſelf, the ſecond by vice-admiral *Pen*, and the third by rear-admiral *Bourne*. It was about three when the engagement began, and the *Engliſh* quickly diſcovered their raſhneſs, in attacking an enemy under ſuch diſadvantages; for the *Sovereign*, a new ſhip, ſtuck immediately on the ſands, and ſo did ſeveral others; but getting off again, the *Engliſh* fleet ſtood aloof, till *de Wit* came freely from his advantages to a fair engagement, which was boldly begun by *Bourne*, and gallantly ſeconded by the reſt of the fleet. A *Dutch* man of war attempting to board the *Sovereign* was ſunk by her ſide, and this by the firſt diſcharge ſhe made. Soon after a *Dutch* rear-admiral was taken by captain *Mildmay*, and two other men of war ſunk; a third blowing up before the end of the fight. *De Wit* was then glad to retire, and was purſued by the *Engliſh* fleet as long as it was light. The next day they continued the chace till they were within twelve leagues of the *Dutch* ſhore, and then ſeeing the *Dutch* fleet entering into the *Goree*, *Blake* returned in triumph to the *Downs*, and thence into port, having loſt about 300 men, and having as many wounded. For the reception of the latter, the parliament took care to provide hoſpitals near *Dover* and *Deal*, and

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ſent alſo their thanks to the admiral and his officers[a]. The *Dutch* writers pretend they loſt no ſhips. They admit, however, that one was taken; but being afterwards deſerted, was brought ſafe into port. *De Wit* fairly confeſſed the loſs, and charged it, firſt, on the bad behaviour of no leſs than twenty of his captains, who withdrew out of the line of battle; and next, on the ſtates having bad intelligence; the *Engliſh* fleet being more numerous, and the ſhips of greater bulk than he expected. Theſe excuſes were certainly true, and yet the people uſed their admirals ſo ill, that *de Ruyter* was deſirous of throwing up his commiſſion, and *de Wit* fell ſick upon it. The ſtates, however, behaved with great prudence and courage, repaired and augmented their fleet to eighty ſail in ſix weeks time, and then engaged *Tromp* to take the command of them; though ſome ſay, that the king of *Denmark* drew them to this reſolution, by promiſing them a powerful ſquadron of his ſhips, provided *Tromp* had the command[b].

THIS prince had very unadviſedly engaged himſelf in a quarrel with the parliament, by detaining (at the requeſt of the *Dutch*) a fleet of twenty *Engliſh* ſhips in the harbour of *Copenhagen*. At firſt he pretended that he did it for their ſafety, and therefore, commodore *Ball* was ſent with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail to convoy them home; when his *Daniſh* majeſty declared his reſolution to keep them, and the fear he was under for the conſequences of this ſtrange ſtep, induced him to offer the *Dutch* his aſſiſtance. This fell out happily for them; for the *Engliſh* now filled their ports with *Dutch* prizes, while the people of

[a] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 636. Heath's chronicle, p. 326, 327. Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. [b] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol i. p. 260, 261.

of Holland ſuffering in ſo tender a point began to loſe all patience; which forced the ſtates to hurry out *Tromp* with his fleet, to convoy a fleet of about three hundred merchant-men through the channel[c].

It being now the beginning of *November*, *Blake*, who thought the ſeaſon of action over, had detached twenty of his ſhips for the ſecurity of the *Newcaſtle* colliers; twelve more were ſent to *Plymouth*, and fifteen were retired into the river, in order to repair the damage which they had received in a ſtorm. *Tromp* having intelligence of this, and that *Blake* had with him no more than thirty-ſeven ſhips, and many of theſe but thinly manned, reſolved to attack him in the *Downs*, not far from the place where they had fought before[d]. On the 29th of *November* he preſented himſelf before the *Engliſh* fleet, and *Blake* after holding a council of war, reſolved to engage, notwithſtanding this great inequality: but the wind riſing, they were obliged to defer fighting till next day; and that night our fleet rode a little above *Dover*-road. In the morning both fleets plied weſtward, *Blake*, having the weather-gage. About eleven the battle began with great fury; but very unluckily for the *Engliſh*, half of their ſmall fleet could not engage. The *Triumph*, in which *Blake* was in perſon, the *Victory*, and the *Van Guard*, bore almoſt the whole ſtreſs of the fight, having twenty *Dutch* men of war to deal with at once; and yet they fought it out till it was dark. Late in the evening, the *Garland* commanded by captain *Batten*, and the *Bonaventure* captain *Hookſton*, clapped *Van Tromp* aboard, killed his

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[c] Heath's chronicle, p. 327. Columna Roſtrata, p. 108. Bufnage annales des provinces unies, p. 289. [d] Heath's chronicle, p. 229, 230. Columna Roſtrata, p. 109.

his ſecretary and purſer by his ſide, and had certainly taken his ſhip, if they had not been boarded by two *Dutch* flags, by whom after their captains were killed, both theſe ſhips were taken. *Blake*, who ſaw this with indignation, puſhed ſo far to their relief, that he was very near ſharing the ſame fate, if the *Van Guard* and *Saphire* had not ſtood by him with the utmoſt reſolution, and at laſt brought him off[e]. The *Hercules* was run aſhore in the retreat, and if the night had not ſheltered them, moſt of the ſhips that were engaged muſt have been loſt; but they took the advantage of its obſcurity, and retired firſt to *Dover*, and then into the *River*. Admiral *Tromp* continued a day or two in the *Downs*, ſailed from thence towards *Calais*, took part of the *Barbadoes* fleet, and ſome other prizes, and then ſailed to the iſle of *Rhe*, with a broom at his top-maſt head, intimating, that he would ſweep the narrow ſeas of *Engliſh* ſhips[f]. There appears however, no ſuch reaſon for boaſting as the *Dutch* writers ſuggeſt; their fleet had indeed many advantages; yet they bought their ſucceſs very dear, one of their beſt ſhips being blown up, and two of their admirals in a manner diſabled[g].

THE parliament ſhewed their ſteadineſs, by careſſing *Blake* after his defeat, and naming him, in conjunction with *Deane* and *Monk*, general at ſea for another year. In order to the more ſpeedy manning the navy, they iſſued a proclamation, offering conſiderable rewards to ſuch as entered themſelves within the ſpace of forty days; they alſo raiſed the ſailors pay from nineteen to twenty-four ſhillings a month: and this had ſo good an effect, that in

[e] Heath's chronicle, p. 330. [f] Ibid. p. 331. Columna Roſtrata, p. 112, 113. [g] Clarendon, Whitlock, Ruſhworth.

in ſix weeks time they had a fleet ready to put to ſea of ſixty men of war; forty under *Blake* in the river, and twenty more at *Portſmouth*. On the 11th of *February* both fleets joined near *Beachey-Head*; and thence admiral *Blake* ſailed over-againſt *Portland*, where he lay croſs the channel, in order to welcome *Tromp* on his return. This was a kind of ſurprize on the *Dutch* admiral, who did not think it poſſible, after the late defeat, for the parliament to fit out, in ſo ſhort a ſpace, a fleet capable of fighting again. He had between two and three hundred merchant-ſhips under convoy, and was therefore much amazed, when ſailing up the channel he found *Blake* ſo ſtationed, that it was impoſſible to avoid fighting. *Engliſh* and *Dutch* authors vary pretty much as to the ſtrength of their reſpective fleets; but by comparing both the admiral's letters, I apprehend they were nearly equal, each having about ſeventy ſail [h]. *Blake* and *Deane* were both on board the *Triumph*, and with twelve ſtout ſhips headed their fleet, and fell in firſt with the *Dutch* on the 18th of *February* 1653, about eight in the morning. They were very roughly treated before the reſt of the fleet came up, though gallantly ſeconded by *Lawſon* in the *Fairfax*, and captain *Mildmay* in the *Vanguard*. In the *Triumph*, *Blake* was wounded in the thigh with a piece of iron a ſhot had driven, and the ſame piece of iron tore general *Deane*'s coat and breeches. Captain *Ball*, who commanded the ſhip, was ſhot dead, and fell at *Blake*'s feet; his ſecretary Mr. *Sparrow* was likewiſe killed receiving his orders: he loſt beſides a hundred ſeamen, and the reſt were moſt of them wounded, and his ſhip ſo miſerably ſhattered, that

[h] Baſnage annales des provincies unies, vol. i. p. 298, 299. Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Clarendon's hiſtory. Whitlock's memorials, Rapin.

that it had little ſhare in the two next days fights [1]. In the *Fairfax* there were an hundred men killed, and the ſhip wretchedly torn; the *Vanguard* loſt her captain and abundance of men. The *Proſperous*, a ſhip of 44 Guns, was boarded by *de Ruyter* and taken; but *de Ruyter's* ſhip being in that inſtant boarded by an *Engliſh* man of war, captain *Veſey* in the *Merlin*-frigate entered the *Proſperous*, and retook her. The *Aſſiſtance*, vice-admiral of the blue ſquadron, was diſabled in the beginning of the fight, and brought off to *Portſmouth*, whither the *Advice* quickly followed her, being no longer able to keep the ſea. *Tromp*, who was long engaged with *Blake*, loſt moſt of his officers and had his ſhip diſabled; *de Ruyter* loſt his main and fore-top-maſt, and very narrowly eſcaped being taken. One *Dutch* man of war was blown up; ſix more were either ſunk or taken: the latter had their rigging ſo clotted with blood and brains, that it was impoſſible to look upon them but with horror [k].

FRIDAY night was ſpent in repairing the damage, and making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a ſecond engagement. On *Saturday* morning the enemy was ſeen again ſeven leagues off *Weymouth*, whither the *Engliſh* plyed, and came up with them in the afternoon about three leagues to the north-weſt of the *Iſle of Wight*. *Tromp* had rallied his fleet, and ranged it in the form of an half-moon, incloſing

[1] Heath's chronicle, p. 335. The accounts in this book are, generally ſpeaking, from the relations printed by order of the ſtate, and are therefore more to be depended on than the accounts in Whitlock, which were ſet down according to the news he received; and therefore, what is one day reported as a fact, is perhaps a week afterwards retracted as a falſhood. [k] Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Columna Roſtrata, 113, 114. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 300.

closing the merchant-ships within a semi-circle, and in that posture he maintained a retreating fight. The *English* made several desperate attacks, striving to break through to the merchant-ships: on which occasion *de Ruyter*'s ship was again so roughly treated, that she was towed out of the fleet. At last, the merchant-men, finding they could be no longer protected, began to shift for themselves, throwing part of their goods over board, for the greater expedition. According to *Blake*'s own letter, eight men of war, and fourteen or sixteen merchant-ships, were taken; and the fight continued all night[l].

On *Sunday* morning the *Dutch* were near *Bullogn*, where the fight was renewed, but with little effect. *Tromp* had slipped away in the dark with his merchant-men to *Calais-Sands*, where he anchored that day with forty sail; the wind favouring him, he thence tided it home, our fleet pursuing but slowly; for *Blake*, though he feared not *Dutchmen*, yet dreaded their shallow coasts: however, the captains, *Lawson*, *Marten*, and *Graver*, took each a *Dutch* man of war, and *Penn* picked up many of their merchant-men. On the whole, the *Dutch* had the better the first day, lost ground the second, and were clearly beaten the third. They lost eleven men of war, (their own accounts say but nine) thirty merchant-men, 1500 men killed, and as many wounded. As for the *English*, they lost only the *Sampson*, which captain *Button* finding disabled, sunk of his own accord, as to their men, it is certain their loss was little inferior to the *Dutch*[m]. It is remarkable, that in

[l] Columna Rostrata, p. 115. [m] Clarendon's history, p. 636. Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Bate's history of the troubles of England

In this fight *Blake*, who had been long a land-officer, made uſe of a good body of ſoldiers, and with all the ſucceſs he could wiſh: yet this is no precedent in any but ſuch a war as this was; ſince theſe troops had no time to languiſh or grow ſick, but were engaged almoſt as ſoon as they were put on board. The people contributed readily and plentifully to the relief of our wounded ſeamen; and the *Dutch* on their ſide complimented *Tromp* on his conduct, which was certainly no more than he deſerved [a].

In the mean time things went but ill in the *Streights*, where an *Engliſh* and *Dutch* ſquadron lay together in the road of *Legborn*. An action happened there which deſerves to be related, becauſe there appears as much true bravery and maritime ſkill in the *Engliſh* officers who had the misfortune to be beat, as ever rendered a victory conſpicuous; and it ought to be the buſineſs of an hiſtorian to celebrate merit rather than ſucceſs.

The *Engliſh* ſquadron conſiſted of ſix ſhips commanded by commodore *Appleton*, of the burden and force expreſſed in the following liſt.

Ships.	Guns.	Men.
The Leopard,	52	180
Bonaventure,	44	150
Sampſon,	36	90
Levant-Merchant,	28	60
Pilgrim,	30	70
Mary,	30	70

Com-

land, p. 175. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 366. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 301.

[a] Heath's chronicle, p. 335. Columna Roſtrata, p. 115, 116.

COMMODORE *Appleton* took this opportunity of lying ſo near the *Dutch* ſquadron, to ſend three boats manned with reſolute ſeamen, and commanded by one captain *Cox*, to execute a deſign upon the ſhip *Phœnix*, which had been taken from the *Engliſh* in the rencounter near *Elba*, and which at this time made a part of the enemies ſquadron. This deſign was undertaken on the 26th of *November* 1652, and it ſucceeded ſo well, that the ſhip being boarded by the *Engliſh*, the *Dutch* were ſo ſurprized, that they made but little reſiſtance; and young *Tromp* who commanded her, was forced to leap into the water to avoid being taken. The action was performed with ſuch expedition, that before the *Dutch*, who lay next her, were well apprized of what had happened, ſhe was carried off. But the great duke of *Tuſcany* being informed of this adventure, and judging it to be a violation of the neutrality of that port, he ordered the *Engliſh* either to reſtore the *Phœnix*, or to depart from thence. To depart was not without danger: for *Van Galen* with the whole ſtrength of the enemy in thoſe ſeas, conſiſting of ſixteen men of war, a fire-ſhip, and ſeveral ſtout merchant-ſhips, (which were offered a ſhare of the booty, if they would engage) lay ready before the harbour to intercept them.

YET they rather choſe to run all hazards, than to deliver up the ſhip. With this reſolution they diſpatched away advice to commodore *Bodley*, who lay at the iſland *Elba* with two men of war, a fire-ſhip, and the four merchant-ſhips which were preſent at the former engagement with *Van Galen*; and it was agreed between the two commodores, that *Bodley* with his ſmall ſquadron (though unfit to engage, partly on account of the loſs of men in the late fight, partly on account of the merchant-ſhips un-

der their convoy, which were laden with 1500 Bales of ſilk, and other valueable goods) ſhould appear about the time fixed, within ſight of *Leghorn*, to make a bravado, in order to amuſe the *Dutch*, and thereby, if poſſible, to draw them off from before the harbour, and ſo to open a paſſage for *Appleton* to eſcape. According to agreement, *Bodley* on the 2d of *March* 1653, came within ſight of the place. On the 3d, he cauſe three or four of his beſt ſailers to approach the enemy, who were ſtationed before the port: whereupon, their whole ſquadron (as was expected) ſtood to ſea, and gave them chace. This *Appleton* perceiving, took the opportunity to come out; but too ſoon: for the *Dutch* being aware of their deſign, immediately gave over the chace, and tacking about, fell upon *Appleton*'s ſquadron with nine of their men of war, while the reſt obſerved *Bodley*.

At the firſt encounter, an unfortunate ſhot from *Van Galen*'s ſhip ſet fire to the *Bonaventure*, which blew up, though not unrevenged; for at the ſame time a ſhot from that ſhip broke *Van Galen*'s leg, of which hurt he ſoon after died. In the mean while, *Appleton* was attacked by two of the *Hollanders* at once, againſt whom he maintained a cloſe fight of four or five hours, with ſuch reſolution, that both the *Dutch* ſhips were ſo diſabled, that they ſcarce fired a ſhot; *Van Galen* ſeeing the reſolution, of the *Engliſh* commodore, and going (though deſperately wounded) to the aſſiſtance of his friends, was in great danger by a fire-ſhip ſent off from *Bodley*'s ſquadron. But another ſhip coming to the aſſiſtance of the *Hollanders* who were engaged with *Appleton*, they renewed the attack with greater vigour. Some *Dutch* writers report, that *Appleton* finding himſelf oppreſſed by ſuch unequal numbers, after having made all poſſible reſiſtance, ran down, and would

would have blown up his ſhip; but that, being hindered by his ſeamen, he was obliged to yield. The *young Tromp* attacking the *Sampſon*, was beaten off after a deſperate fight; but *The Sampſon* was ſoon after burnt by a fire-ſhip. *The Levant-Merchant* being encountered by one of the enemies ſhips, beat her off, and ſtranded her. But being at laſt taken, together with *The Pilgrim*, (which had loſt her main and mizzen-maſts in the fight); *The Mary*, thus left alone, made her eſcape, and joined the neareſt ſhips of *Bodley*'s ſquadron, which put an end to the engagement [o].

BEFORE we can regularly return to the events of the war nearer home, it is abſolutely neceſſary to take notice of the great change made in our civil government by *Cromwell*, who on the 20th of *April* 1653, entered the houſe of commons, and diſſolved the parliament by force [p]: An action ſtupendous in itſelf, and which ſeems to have ſtruck too many of our own and of foreign hiſtorians with want of diſcernment. They attribute to *Cromwell*, whatever was done after the murder of the king; and the *Dutch* hiſtorians particularly, impute this war to him, and amongſt other reaſons for his diſſolving the parliament, make this to have been one; that he ſuſpected they were inclined to peace [q]: whereas, in truth, never two governments were leſs alike, than thoſe of the parliament and the protector; the former acted upon national principles, the latter from

 private

[o] Heath's chronicle, p. 337. Columna roſtrata, p. 119. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 306; where this writer tells us, that the body of admiral Vaa Galen was tranſported into Holland, buried at Amſterdam, and a magnificent monument erected to his memory, at the expence of the States. [p] Clarendon, Whitlock, Bates, Warwick, Ludlow, &c [q] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 303. and the ſame error runs through all the Dutch hiſtorians;

private views. The *Dutch* war was the parliament's war, begun upon the old quarrel, which king *Charles* would have profecuted, had he been able. It is true, that *Cromwell* carried on the war; but it was only till he could make ſuch a peace as ſerved his turn, and our noble hiſtorian rightly obſerves, that it was the parliament's perſiſting in carrying on this war, that compelled *Cromwell* to act ſooner than he would have done from his foreſight, that if they once conquered their foreign enemies, they would not eaſily be overturned at home by their own creatures [r].

It muſt be confeſſed, that the *Dutch* did not inſtantly receive any great benefit from this ſudden revolution, but then it muſt be conſidered, that the chief officers of the fleet concurred in this meaſure. The government of the parliament, was a government of order and laws, (however they came by their authority); the government of the general, afterwards protector, was entirely military: no wonder, therefore, that both the navy and the army were pleaſed with him [s]. Some advantage, however, the enemy certainly reaped from this change in *Engliſh* affairs; for *Van Tromp* conveyed a great fleet of merchent-men to the north, (for they were now forced to try that road rather than the channel) and though our navy followed him to the height of *Aberdeen*, yet it was to no purpoſe: he eſcaped them both going and coming back, which gave him an opportunity of coming into the *Downs*, making ſome prizes, and battering *Dover*-caſtle. This ſcene of triumph laſted

[r] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 636. where he proves, that Cromwell was never heartily inclined to the Dutch war, and p. 641. where he ſhews what the cauſes were which haſtened Cromwell in the execution of his project. [s] Heath's chronicle, p. 339, 340. Holles's and Warwick's memoirs compared with Whitlock.

laſted but a bare week; for *Tromp* came thither on the 26th of *May*, and on the laſt of that month, he had intelligence, that *Monk* and *Deane*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet, were approaching[t], and that their whole fleet conſiſted of ninety-five ſail of men of war, and five fire-ſhips. The *Dutch* had ninety-eight men of war, and ſix fire-ſhips, and both fleets were commanded by men the moſt remarkable for courage and conduct in either nation; ſo that it was generally conceived, this battle would prove deciſive.

On the 2d of *June* in the morning, the *Engliſh* fleet diſcovered the enemy, whom they immediately attacked with great vigour. The action began about eleven o'clock, and the firſt broad-ſide from the enemy, carried off the brave admiral *Deane*, whoſe body was almoſt cut in two by a chain-ſhot. *Monk* with much preſence of mind, covered his body with his cloak: and here appeared the wiſdom of both admirals being on board the ſame ſhip; for as no flag was taken in, the fleet had no notice of this accident, but the fight continued with the ſame warmth as if it had not happened. The blue ſquadron charged through the enemy, and rear-admiral *Lawſon* bid fair for taking *de Ruyter*, and after he was obliged to leave his ſhip, ſunk another of 42 guns, commanded by captain *Buller*. The fight continued very hot till three o'clock, when the *Dutch* fell into great confuſion, and *Tromp* ſaw himſelf obliged to make a kind of running fight till nine in the evening, when a ſtout ſhip commanded by *Cornelius van Velſen* blew up. This increaſed the confuſion in which they were before; and though *Tromp* did all that was in his power to oblige the officers to do their duty, and even fired upon

[t] Heath's chronicle, p. 344.

ſuch ſhips as drew out of the line; yet it was to no purpoſe, but rather ſerved to increaſe their misfortune. In the night, *Blake* arrived in the *Engliſh* fleet, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſhips, and ſo had his ſhare in the ſecond day's engagement [u].

TROMP did all that was conſiſtent with his honour, to avoid fighting the next day; but he would not do more, ſo that the *Engliſh* fleet came up with them again by eight in the morning, and engaged with the utmoſt fury, the battle continued very hot for about four hours, and vice-admiral *Penn* boarded *Tromp* twice, and had taken him, if he had not been ſeaſonably relieved by *de Wit* and *de Ruyter*. At laſt the *Dutch* fell again into confuſion, which was ſo great, that a plain flight quickly followed, and inſtead of truſting to their arms, they ſought ſhelter on the flat coaſt of *Newport*, from whence, with difficulty enough, they eſcaped to *Zeland*. Our writers agree, that the *Dutch* had ſix of their beſt ſhips ſunk, two blown up, and eleven taken; ſix of their principal captains were taken priſoners, and upwards of 1500 men. Among the ſhips before-mentioned, one was a vice, and two were rear-admirals [w]. The *Dutch* hiſtorians, indeed, confeſs the loſs but of eight men of war. On our ſide, admiral *Deane* and one captain, were all the perſons of note killed: of private men there were but few, and not a ſhip was miſſing; ſo that a more ſignal victory could ſcarce be obtained, or indeed deſired. Beſides, the enemies ſhips were now blocked

[u] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 644. Heath's chronicle, p. 344. I have likewiſe conſulted Monk's letter, printed in the proceedings of the parliament called by authority of general Cromwell in 1653, p. 27. [w] Columna roſtrata, p. 126. Heath's chronicle, p. 345.

blocked up in their ports, and the ſight of a foreign fleet at their doors, had this farther bad conſequence, that it excited domeſtic tumults. We need not wonder then, that the *Dutch* ſent ambaſſadors into *England*, to negotiate a peace almoſt on any terms. Theſe *Cromwell* received with haughtineſs enough, talked high, and aſſumed to himſelf the credit of former victories, in which he could have little ſhare [x].

THE ſtates, however, were far from truſting entirely to negotiations, but laboured with the utmoſt diligence to repair their paſt loſſes, and to fit out a new fleet. This was a very difficult taſk; and in order to effect it, they were forced to raiſe the ſeamen's wages, though their trade was at a full ſtop: they came down in perſon to their ports, and ſaw their men embarked, advanced them wages beforehand, and promiſed them if they would fight once again, they would never aſk them more [y]. Yet all this would hardly have done, if the induſtry of *de Wit*, in equipping their new-built ſhips, and the care and ſkill of *Van Tromp* in refitting their old ones, and encouraging the ſeamen, had not contributed more than all the other methods that were taken to the ſetting out a freſh fleet, of upwards of ninety ſhips, in the latter end of *July*, a thing admired then, and ſcarce credible now. Theſe were victualled for five months; and the ſcheme laid down by the ſtates, was this, that to force the *Engliſh* fleet to leave their ports, this navy of theirs ſhould come and block up ours. But firſt it was reſolved, than *Van Tromp* ſhould ſail to the mouth of the *Texel*, where *de Ruyter*, with twenty-five ſail of

[x] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 311 [y] Heath's chronicle, p. 346.

ſtout ſhips, was kept in by the *Engliſh* fleet, in order to try if they might not be provoked to leave their ſtation, and thereby give the *Dutch* ſquadron an opportunity of coming out [z].

On the 29th of *July* 1653, the *Dutch* fleet appeared in the ſight of the *Engliſh*, upon which the latter did their utmoſt to engage them: but *Tromp*, having in view the releaſe of *de Wit*, rather than fighting, kept off, ſo that it was ſeven at night before general *Monk* in *The Reſolution*, with about thirty ſhips, great and ſmall, came up with them, and charged through their fleet. It growing dark ſoon after, there paſſed nothing more that night, *Monk* ſailing to the ſouth, and *Van Tromp* to the northward, and this not being ſuſpected by the *Engliſh*, he both joined *de Wit*'s ſquadron, and gained the weather-gage [a]. The next day proving very foul and windy, the ſea ran ſo high, that it was impoſſible for the fleets to engage, the *Engliſh* particularly, finding it hard enough to keep off the enemy's coaſts [b].

On *Sunday July* 31, the weather being favourable, both fleets engaged with terrible fury. The battle laſted at leaſt eight hours, and was the moſt hard-fought of any that had happened throughout the war. The *Dutch* fire-ſhips were managed with great dexterity, and many of the large veſſels in the *Engliſh* fleet were in the utmoſt danger, and *The Triumph* was ſo effectually fired, that moſt of her crew threw themſelves into the ſea, and yet thoſe who ſtaid behind, were ſo lucky as to put it out [c]. *Lawſon* engaged

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[z] Baſnage, de Neufville, le Clerc, Rapin. [a] Heath's chronicle, p. 346, 347. Prodeedings of the parliament, A. D. 1653, p. 28. [b] Columna roſtrata, p. 130. [c] Heath's chronicle, p. 347.

gaged *de Ruyter* briſkly, killed and wounded above half his men, and ſo diſabled his ſhip, that it was towed out of the fleet: yet the admiral did not leave the battle ſo, but returned in a galliot, and went on board another ſhip. About noon, *Van Tromp* was ſhot through the body with a muſket-ball, as he was giving orders [d]. This miſerably diſcouraged his countrymen, ſo that by two, they began to fly in great confuſion, having but one flag ſtanding amongſt them. The lighteſt frigates in the *Engliſh* fleet purſued them cloſely, till the *Dutch* admiral, perceiving they were but ſmall, and of no great ſtrength, turned his helm, and reſolved to engage them; but ſome bigger ſhips coming into their aſſiſtance, the *Dutchman* was taken [e]. It was night by that time their ſcattered fleet recovered the *Texel*. The *Engliſh* fearing their flats, rode about ſix leagues off. This was a terrible blow to the *Dutch*, of whom, according to *Monk*'s letter, no leſs than thirty ſhips were loſt; but from better intelligence, it appeared, that four of theſe had eſcaped, two into *Zeland*, and two into *Hamburgh* [f]. Their loſs, however, was very great: five captains were taken priſoners, and between four and five thouſand men killed, twenty-ſix ſhips of war either burnt or ſunk. On the ſide of the *Engliſh*, there were two ſhips only, *viz.* *The Oak* and *The Hunter*-Frigate burnt, ſix captains killed, and about five hundred ſeamen. There were alſo ſix captains wounded, and about eight hundred private men [g]. The *Dutch* writers diſpute many of

[d] Leven Van Tromp, p. 111. [e] Heath's chronicle, p. 348. [f] Monk's letter, which is printed in the proceedings of the parliament I have cited, was written the very evening of the fight, viz. July 31, 1653. [g] Proceedings of the parliament, p. 34. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Columna roſtrata, p. 132. Bates's hiſtory, p 175.

of theſe points, and ſome of them will not allow, that they loſt above nine ſhips. The contrary of this, however, appears from *de Wit*'s letter to the ſtates, wherein he owns many more, confeſſes that he had made a very precipitate retreat, for which he aſſigns two reaſons; firſt, that the beſt of their ſhips were miſerably ſhattered, and next, that many of his officers had behaved like Poltrons [h].

Some very ſingular circumſtances attended this extraordinary victory, and deſerve therefore to be mentioned. There were ſeveral merchant-men in the fleet, and *Monk*, finding occaſion to employ them, thought proper to ſend their captains to each others ſhips, in order to take off their concern for their owners veſſels and cargoes; a ſcheme which anſwered his purpoſe perfectly well, no ſhips in the fleet behaving better [i]. He had likewiſe obſerved, that in moſt engagements, much time, and many opportunities were loſt, by taking ſhips, and ſending them into harbour; and conſidering that ſtill greater inconveniencies muſt ariſe from their nearneſs to the enemy's coaſt, and diſtance from their own, he iſſued his orders in the beginning of the fight, that they ſhould not either give or take quarter; which, however, were not ſo ſtrictly obſerved, but that twelve hundred *Dutchmen* were taken out of the ſea, while their ſhips were ſinking [k]. *Monk* himſelf was ſo active, that in his letter to *Cromwell*, dated the 2d of *Auguſt* 1653, he takes notice, that of five *Dutch* flags that were flying at the beginning of the fight, he had the good fortune to bring down three, *viz.* thoſe of *Tromp*, *Everſon* and *de Ruyter*;

[h] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 240. Leven Van Tromp. p. 142. [i] Heath's chronicle, p. 348. [k] Columna roſtrata, p. 130—131.

Ruyter [l]; and ſo long he continued in the heat of the diſpute, that his ſhip, *The Reſolution*, was at laſt towed out of the line: and, indeed, moſt of the great veſſels had been ſo roughly handled, that there was no continuing on the enemy's coaſt any longer.

THE parliament then ſitting, who were of *Cromwell*'s appointment, upon the 8th of *Auguſt* 1653, ordered gold chains to be ſent to the generals *Blake* and *Monk*, and likewiſe to vice-admiral *Penn* and rear-admiral *Lawſon*; they ſent alſo chains to the reſt of the flag-officers, and medals to the captains. The 25th of *Auguſt* was appointed for a day of ſolemn thankſgiving [m], and *Monk* being then in town, *Cromwell* at a great feaſt in the city put the gold chain about his neck, and obliged him to wear it all dinner-time [n]. As for the ſtates, they ſupported their loſs with great courage and conſtancy; they buried *Tromp* very magnificently at the public expence, and as ſoon as the return of the *Engliſh* fleet permitted, ſent *de Wit* with a fleet of fifty men of war, and five fire-ſhips to the *Sound*, in order to convoy home a fleet of three hundred merchant-men, there aſſembled from different quarters [o]. This he performed very happily, though the *Engliſh* fleet lay in wait for him: but the joy which the *Dutch* conceived upon this occaſion, was ſoon qualified by accidents of another ſort; for an *Engliſh* ſquadron falling in with a large fleet of merchant-men in the mouth of the *Texel*, and admiral *Lawſon* ſailing to the north, deſtroyed

[l] Proceedings of the parliament, p. 33, where there is an extract only; but I have ſeen a copy of the entire letter. [m] Parliamentary proceedings, p. 39, 45. [n] Columna Roſtrata, p. 134. [o] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, p. 315, 316, 317.

ed their herring-fiſhing for that year, and either took or ſunk moſt of the frigates ſent to protect them: beſides, a great ſtorm drove twelve or thirteen of their beſt men of war from their anchors, ſo that running on ſhore they were loſt [p].

THE negotiation carried on by the *Dutch* miniſters at *London*, met at firſt with many difficulties. The terms preſcribed were in number many, and in their nature hard, inſomuch that it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the *Dutch* could ever have ſubmitted to them; but an accident (if indeed the effect of *Cromwell*'s intrigues ought to be called ſo) delivered them out of their diſtreſs. The parliament on the 12th of *December* 1653, took a ſudden reſolution of delivering up their power to him from whom it came, *viz.* the lord general *Cromwell*, who ſoon after took upon him the ſupreme magiſtracy, under the title of protector [q]. He quickly admitted the *Dutch* to a treaty upon eaſier conditions, though he affected to make uſe of high terms, and to behave towards their ambaſſadors with a great deal of haughtineſs, which, for the ſake of their country's intereſt, they knew well enough how to bear. This treaty ended in a peace, which was made the fourth of *April* 1654. In this negotiation the coalition, upon which the parliament had inſiſted, was entirely dropped. No mention at all was made of our ſole right to fiſhing on our own coaſt, or any annual tribute ſecured to us for the *Dutch* fiſhing in our ſeas, which had been actually paid to king *Charles*, and was offered to the parliament; though *Cromwell*, becauſe his adminiſtration ſtood in need of

[p] Clarendon, Whitlock, Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 317. Rapin.

[q] Heath's chronicle, p. 353.

of a peace, thought fit to part with it. He likewiſe gave up all claim to the ſearching *Dutch* ſhips, which the parliament had rigorouſly inſiſted on. The right of limiting the number of their ſhips of war, was another of their articles that he dropt; neither did he oblige them to grant the *Engliſh* a free navigation on the river *Scheld* [r]. But it is now time to ſee the terms to which he held them.

It was in the firſt place ſtipulated, that ſuch as could be found of the perſons concerned in the maſſacre at *Amboyna*, ſhould be delivered up to juſtice. This was very ſpecious, and calculated to give the people a high idea of the protector's patriotiſm, who thus compelled the *Dutch* to make ſatisfaction, for an offence which the two former kings could never bring them to acknowledge. But as this article was never executed, ſo we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Dutch* knew the protector's mind before they made this conceſſion. They acknowledged the dominion of the *Engliſh* at ſea, by conſenting to ſtrike the flag, ſubmitted to the act of navigation, undertook to give the *Eaſt-India* company ſatisfaction for the loſſes they had ſuſtained, and by a private article, bound themſelves never to elect any of the houſe of *Orange* to the dignity of *Stadtholder* [s]. Thus taking all things together, this ought rather to be conſidered as a cloſe conjunction between the new protector of *England*, and the *Louveſtein* faction in *Holland*, than an alliance between the two nations. For though it be true, that ſome regard was had in this treaty to the honour and intereſt of *England*, yet con-

[r] Columna Roſtrata, p. 137. Heath's Chronicle, p. 357. Flagellum; or, the life and death of Ol. Cromwell, p. 147. [s] See this treaty at large in the collection of treaties in four volumes.

conſidering our ſucceſs in that war, and the ſituation things were in at the concluſion of it, there can be no reaſon to doubt, that, if the parliament which begun the war had ended it, they would have done it upon much better terms, in reſpect both to profit and glory.

HOSTILITIES between the two ſtates had not continued quite two years; and yet in that time the *Engliſh* took no leſs than one thouſand ſeven hundred prizes, valued by the *Dutch* themſelves at ſixty-two millions of guilders, or near ſix millions ſterling. On the contrary, thoſe taken by the *Dutch* could not amount to the fourth part, either in number or value. Within that time the *Engliſh* were victorious in no leſs than five general battles, ſome of which were of ſeveral days; whereas the *Hollanders* cannot juſtly boaſt of having gained one. For the action between *de Ruyter* and *Ayſcue*, in which they pretended ſome advantage, was no general fight; and the advantage gained by *Tromp* in the *Downs*, is owned to have been gained but over a part of the *Engliſh* fleet. As ſhort as this quarrel was, it brought the *Dutch* to greater extremities, than their fourſcore years war with *Spain*. The ſtates ſhewed great wiſdom in one point, *viz.* including their ally the king of *Denmark* in this treaty, by undertaking that either he or they ſhould make ſatisfaction for the *Engliſh* ſhips, which been ſeized at the beginning of the war in his port [t].

THE rupture between *France* and *England* ſtill continued, our ſhips of war taking, ſinking, or burning theirs wherever they met them, and the *French* privateers di-

2 ſturbing

[t] Verwerd Europa, p. 122. Intereſt Van Holland, p. 34. Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 335.

ſturbing our commerce as much as they were able [v]. An attempt was made by the *French* miniſtry to have got *France* as well as *Denmark* included in the peace made with the ſtates: but *Cromwell* would not hear of this, becauſe he knew how to make his advantage of the difficulties the *French* then laboured under another way; in which he ſucceeded perfectly well, obliging them in 1655, to ſubmit to his own terms, and to give up the intereſts of the royal family, notwithſtanding their near relation to the houſe of *Bourbon*. He likewiſe obtained a very advantageous treaty of commerce, and without queſtion his conduct with regard to *France*, would have deſerved commendation, if, for the ſake of ſecuring his own government, he had not entered too readily into the views of cardinal *Mazarine*, and contributed thereby to the aggrandizing of a power which has been terrible to *Europe* ever ſince [w]; and which he might have reduced within juſt bounds, if he had ſo pleaſed.

He did not diſcover his intentions in this reſpect all at once, but by degrees only, and as they became neceſſary. He affected to have his friendſhip earneſtly ſollicited both by *France* and *Spain*, and even declared publickly, that he would give it to the court which deſerved beſt, or, in plain terms, bid higheſt for it [x]. The firſt ſign of his reconciliation to the *French*, was, the reſtoring the ſhips taken by *Blake*, with proviſions and ammunition for the garriſon of *Dunkirk*; and yet nothing of confidence appeared then between the cardinal and him, though it is generally ſuppoſed, that the firſt inſtigation to the *Spaniſh* war

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[v] Heath's Chronicle, p. 356, 357. [w] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 649. [x] Heath's Chronicle, p. 356.

war came from him; who gave the protector to underſtand, that the *Engliſh* maritime force could not be better employed, than in conquering part of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, while *France* attacked the ſame crown in *Europe*; and to purchaſe his aſſiſtance, would readily relinquiſh the royal family, and ſo rid him from all fears of an invaſion [y]. Beſides theſe hints from abroad, the protector had ſome notices of a like nature at home; eſpecially from one *Gage* a prieſt, who had been long in *America*, and who furniſhed him with a copious account of the wealth and weakneſs of the *Spaniards* there [z].

IMMEDIATELY after the concluſion of the *Dutch* war, the protector ordered all the ſhips of his navy to be repaired, and put into good condition. He likewiſe directed many new ones to be built; ſtore-houſes, magazines, *&c.* to be filled with ammunition and proviſion: whence it was evident enough that he intended not to be idle, though no body knew againſt whom this mighty force was to be exerted [a]. In the ſummer of the year 1654, he ordered two great fleets to be provided, one of which was to be commanded by admiral *Blake*, and the other by vice-admiral *Penn*. Neither of theſe had any knowledge of what the other was to attempt; ſo far from it, they knew not perfectly what themſelves were to perform [b]. Their orders were to be opened at ſea, and they had no further lights given them, than were abſolutely requiſite for making the neceſſary preparations. *Blake*, as

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[y] Clarendon, Whitlock, Baſnage, Rapin, &c. [z] He wrote a book entitled, A Survey of the Weſt-Indies, of which the firſt edition was in folio, and there have been ſeveral in octavo; but theſe latter want a chapter which is the moſt curious in the whole book. [a] Clarendon's Hiſtory, p. 673. Baſnage Annales des provinces Unies, vol i. p. 400. [b] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 673. Whitlock, Rapin.

as ſoon as all things were ready, put to ſea, and ſailed into the *Streights*, where his orders were to procure ſatisfaction from ſuch princes and ſtates, as had either inſulted the government, or injured the commerce of *England*. But, before his departure, it had been induſtriouſly given out, that he was to intercept the duke of *Guiſe*, and to protect the kingdom of *Naples* from the *French*. This had the deſired effect; it lulled the *Spaniards* aſleep, and even diſpoſed them to ſhew the admiral all poſſible civilities, who very probably had as yet no ſuſpicion of *Cromwell*'s deſign to break with that nation. The firſt place he went to was *Legborn*, where he had two accounts to make up with the grand duke: the firſt was for his ſubjects purchaſing the prizes made by prince *Rupert*; the other for the damage done by *Van Galen*, when *Appleton* was forced out of *Legborn* road. Theſe demands ſurprized the prince on whom they were made; eſpecially, when he underſtood how large a ſum was expected from him, not leſs in the whole than 150,000 *l.* which, however, was moderated to 60,000 *l.* and this ſum there is reaſon to believe was actually paid [c]. Thence he proceeded to *Algiers*, where he arrived the 10th of *March* 1655, and anchored without the mole, ſending an officer to the Dey to demand ſatisfaction for the piracies committed on the *Engliſh*, and the releaſe of all captives belonging to his nation. The Dey anſwered very modeſtly, that as for the ſhips and ſlaves, they were now the property of private perſons, from whom he could not take them with

[c] Heath's Chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 345. Life of Blake, Bates's Hiſtory.

ſafety to himſelf; but that he would make it his care they ſhould be redeemed upon eaſy terms, and would make a treaty with him to prevent any hoſtilities being committed for the future. The admiral left the port upon this, and ſailed to *Tunis*, where he ſent the like meſſage on ſhore; but received a very ſhort anſwer, *viz. Here are our caſtles of* Guletta *and* Porto Ferino: *you may do your worſt; we do not fear you.* *Blake* entered the bay of *Porto Ferino*, and came within muſket-ſhot of the caſtle and line, which he played upon ſo warmly, that they were ſoon in a defenceleſs condition. There were then nine ſhips in the road, which the admiral reſolved to burn; and with this view ordered every captain of his own ſhips to man his long-boat with choice men, and directed theſe to enter the harbour and fire the ſhips of *Tunis*, while he and his fleet covered them from the caſtle, by playing continually on it with their cannon. The ſeamen in their boats boldly aſſaulted the pyrates, and burnt all their ſhips, with the loſs of twenty-five men killed, and forty-eight wounded. This daring action ſpread the terror of his name through *Africa* and *Aſia*, which had long been formidable in *Europe*. From *Tunis* he went to *Tripoli*, and concluded a peace with that government. Thence he returned to *Tunis*, and threatning to do farther execution, the inhabitants implored his mercy from their works, and begged him to grant them a peace, which he did on terms glorious for him, and profitable for his country [d].

THE other fleet being alſo in readineſs, and compoſed of about thirty ſhips of war, and a convenient number of tranſports;

[d] Heath's Chronicle, p. 374, 375. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 348, 349.

transports; the protector resolved they should sail in the month of *December* 1654. Admiral *Penn* had the chief command of this fleet, and under him were vice-admiral *Goodson*, and rear-admiral *Blagge*. The commander of the land-forces was colonel *Venables*, an old officer, who, as well as the admiral, was secretly in the king's interest, and intended to have laid hold of this opportunity to restore him. The troops consisted of about five thousand men, amongst whom many were royalists, and the rest so little satisfied with the protector's administration, that one great end of this expedition was to be rid of them [e]. *Venables* had desired of *Cromwell*, that great care might be taken in furnishing, arms, and ammunition; that his forces might be properly chosen, and that himself might not be fettered by his instructions. In all these he soon found himself disappointed: his provision was not only short in quantity, but very bad in its kind; arms and ammunition were very sparingly supplied, and in a manner fitter for shew than service; his troops were either raw or invalids, and by his instructions, he was tied up from doing any thing without the consent of others [f]. Before he could acquire any certain knowledge of these particulars, he was hurried on board at *Portsmouth*, whence he immediately sailed for *Barbadoes* [g].

The fleet arrived in *Carlisle* bay on the 29th of *January* 1655, and were very joyfully received by all the in-

[e] Clarendon's History, p. 673. Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185. [f] The only just and genuine account of this expedition is to be found in Burchet's Naval History, which was drawn up at the time, from the examination of Penn, Venables, and their superiour officers. [g] Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 185.

habitants of the iſland of *Barbadoes*, where they ſtaid ſome time, in order to recruit and make the neceſſary preparations for their intended deſcent on the iſland of *Hiſpaniola*. We have been long taught blindly to admire the wiſdom and conduct of *Cromwell* in his enterprizes; but certainly this was the worſt managed that ever our nation undertook. General *Venables* found himſelf deficient in all ſorts of neceſſaries, and which was worſe, found admiral *Penn* very little inclined to afford him even the aſſiſtance that was in his power. He expoſtulated with him to no purpoſe, which made the wretchedneſs of his and their condition ſo apparent, that one of their fellow-commiſſioners ſaid plainly, *he doubted they were betrayed.* It was, however, too late to look back, and beſides, abundance of voluntiers reſorted to *Barbadoes* from all our plantations, in order to ſhare the riches that were to be taken from the *Spaniards*; ſo that *Venables* ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of proceeding, notwithſtanding he was thoroughly ſatisfied, they were in no condition to proceed [h].

FROM *Barbadoes* the fleet ſailed on the laſt of *March* to St. *Chriſtopher's*, where they met with another ſupply of voluntiers; ſo that when they embarked for *Hiſpaniola*, *Venables* had under his command the greateſt body of *European* troops that had ever been ſeen in that part of the world, his army conſiſting of very near 10,000 men. It muſt, however, be obſerved, that they were in the worſt temper in the world for making conqueſts. Moſt of them, when they left *England*, did it with a view to make their fortunes; but now the commiſſioners (of whom *Venables* indeed was one, but of a different opinion from all

[h] Heath's Chronicle, p. 365. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 349.

all the reſt) told them, that every penny of their plunder was to be accounted for, and that they could only allow them a fortnight's pay by way of equivalent. This had like to have thrown them into a general mutiny, and it was with much ado, that the officers pacified them with a promiſe of ſix weeks pay, which the commiſſioners, however, would not be brought to confirm; and in this ſituation things were, when they embarked for *Hiſpaniola* [1].

THEY arrived before the city of St. *Domingo*, and general *Venables* propoſed that they ſhould ſail directly into the harbour, which, however, was not agreed to by the ſea-officers, who propoſed landing at the river *Hine*; for which purpoſe, part of the ſquadron was detached under the command of vice-admiral *Goodſon*, who when at ſea, declared he had no pilots to conduct the ſhips into the mouth of the river, and therefore, the troops were compelled (notwithſtanding general *Venables* proteſted againſt it) to land at the weſt-point, from whence they had forty miles to march through a thick woody country without any guide; inſomuch, that numbers of men and horſes, through fatigue, extremity of heat, and want of water were deſtroyed. After four days march, the army came to the place where they might have been firſt put on ſhore; but by that time the enemy had drawn together the whole force of the iſland, and had recovered from their firſt ſurprize. Colonel *Buller*, who had landed with his regiment near *Hine*-river, and had orders to remain there till the army joined him, thought fit, on the coming of *Cox* the guide, to march away; and for want of this

[1] Heath's Chronicle, p. 369.

guide, the general and his forces marched ten or twelve miles out of their road. Exaſperated with theſe diſappointments, and the hardſhips they had undergone, the regiment of ſeamen, under the command of admiral *Goodſon* mutinied firſt, and then the land-troops; ſo that the general had much ado to prevail on them to ford the river. At length, colonel *Buller*, and *Cox* the guide, joined them, and promiſed to conduct them to a place where they might be ſupplied with water; but this colonel taking the liberty of ſtraggling for the ſake of pillage, the *Spaniards* attacked him, and in one of theſe ſkirmiſhes *Cox*, their only guide, was killed; yet the *Spaniards* were at laſt repulſed, and purſued within cannon-ſhot of the town [k].

In this diſtreſſed condition, a council of war was called, wherein, after mature deliberation, it was reſolved to march to the harbour, in the beſt manner they could, which, with much difficulty they effected. There they ſtaid three or four days to furniſh themſelves with proviſions, and other neceſſaries, and then with a ſingle mortar-piece, marched into the iſland again, to reduce the fort. The vanguard was commanded by adjutant-general *Jackſon*, who, as ſoon as he was attacked by the *Spaniards*, ran away, and his troops after him. The paſſage through the woods being very narrow, they preſſed on the general's regiment, who in vain endeavoured to ſtop them with their pikes. They likewiſe diſordered major-general *Haines*'s regiment, which gave the enemy, who followed very eagerly, and afforded no quarter, great advantage; ſo that the major-general, and the braveſt of the officers, who, like *Engliſhmen*, preferred death before flight, ended their days here.

At

[k] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 392.

At laſt, general *Venables* and vice-admiral *Goodſon*, at the head of their regiments, forced the run-a-ways into the wood, obliged the enemy to retire, and kept their own ground, notwithſtanding, the fire from the fort was very warm [1].

By this time the forces were ſo much fatigued and diſcouraged, that they could not be brought to play the mortar. The general, though reduced to a very low condition, cauſed himſelf to be led from place to place, to encourage them; till fainting at laſt, he was forced to leave the care to major-general *Forteſcue*, who did what he could to revive their ſpirits, but to very little purpoſe.

Soon after, it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſince the enemy had fortified all the paſſes, and the whole army was in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of water, they ſhould march to a place where they were informed a ſupply of that, and other neceſſaries, had been put aſhore from the ſhips. In this march, the ſoldiers followed their officers, till they found themſelves in danger, and then left them; inſomuch, that the commiſſioners owned, by a letter they wrote to the governor of *Barbadoes*, that, had not the enemy been as fearful as their own men, they might in a very few days deſtroyed the whole army; and withal, they let him know, that thoſe who had occaſioned the greateſt diſorder, were thoſe of *Barbadoes* and St. *Chriſtopher's*; inſomuch, that they, the ſaid commiſſioners, who were *Penn*, *Winſlow* and *Buller*, had reſolved to leave the place, and try what could be done againſt the iſland of *Jamaica*. Such was the end of this expedition, after having been on ſhore from the fourteenth of *April* to the firſt

[1] Ibid. p. 393.

of *May*, when this reſolution of ſailing to *Jamaica* was taken [m].

THE army was accordingly in a little time embarked; but the ſick and wounded men were left on the bare decks for eight and forty hours, without either meat, drink, or dreſſing, inſomuch, that worms bred in their ſores: and even while they were on ſhore, the proviſions ſent to them were not watered, but candied with ſalt, notwithſtanding they had not water ſufficient to quench their thirſt. Nay, after their misfortunes on ſhore, *Venables* averred, that *Penn* gave rear-admiral *Blagge* orders not to furniſh them with any more proviſions of what kind ſoever; ſo that they eat up all the dogs, aſſes, and horſes in the camp, and ſome of them ſuch things as were in themſelves poiſonous, of which about forty died. Before the forces were embarked, adjutant-general *Jackſon*, was tried at a court-martial, and not only ſentenced to be caſhiered, and his ſword broken over his head, but to do the duty of a ſwabber, in keeping clean the hoſpital-ſhip; a puniſhment ſuitable to his notorious cowardice [n].

THE deſcent on *Jamaica*, was better managed than that on *Hiſpaniola*; for immediately on their landing, which was on the third of *May*, general *Venables* iſſued his orders, that if any man ſhould be found attempting to run away, the next man to him ſhould put him to death; which if he failed to do, he ſhould be liable to a court-martial [o]. The next day they attacked a fort which they carried, and were then preparing to ſtorm the town of St. *Jago*, but this the *Spaniſh* inhabitants prevented, by a timely

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[m] Ibid. ubi ſupra. [n] Ibid. p. 394. [o] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 314. Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's chronicle.

ly treaty; yet before the general would liſten to any propoſitions of peace, he inſiſted, that a certain quantity of proviſions ſhould be ſent them daily, which was punctually performed; and this gave his ſoldiers ſtrength and ſpirits; and in a ſhort time, their negotiations ended in a compleat ſurrender of the iſland to the *Engliſh*, as appears by the articles, which the reader may find at large in ſeveral of our hiſtorians [p]. General *Venables* finding himſelf in a very weak condition, deſired the conſent of the commiſſioners to open their ultimate inſtructions, to which, after mature deliberation, they yielded. In theſe, he found he had power, in caſe of neceſſity, to reſign his command, which he did accordingly to general *Forteſcue*; upon this, admiral *Penn* followed his example, and delivered up his charge to vice-admiral *Goodſon*, with whom he left a ſtout ſquadron of ſhips, and with the reſt of the fleet returned to *England*. In their paſſage home, they fell in with the *Spaniſh* plate fleet, in the gulph of *Florida*, but without attacking it; whether through want of will, or of inſtructions, at this diſtance, it is hard to determine [q].

IMMEDIATELY after the arrival of *Penn* and *Venables*, which was in the month of *September* 1655, they were both committed cloſe priſoners to the *Tower*, to ſatisfy the clamours of the people, who then (as it often happens) laid the greateſt blame on him who leaſt deſerved it [r]. All that the protector inſiſted on, was, that they ſhould confeſs their faults, in leaving their reſpective charges; and he promiſed

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[p] Burchet abridges them to four, in the page laſt cited. See alſo Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin, &c. [q] Heath's chronicle p. 376. [r] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 674. Heath's chronicle, p. 376. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 186. Whitlock, Ludlow, Bates's hiſtory of the troubles in England, &c.

promiſed to releaſe them upon their ſubmiſſion. This *Penn* quickly did, and was accordingly diſcharged; but *Venables* abſolutely refuſed it, always inſiſting that he had committed no fault, ſince in caſe of inability to execute his duty, his inſtructions permitted him to reſign his command [s]. His memory has been very hardly treated, I think with little reaſon; for as to what is ſaid of his ſuffering the *Spaniards* to carry off their effects from the city of St. *Jago* to the mountains, and thereby defrauding the ſoldiers of their plunder; it appears to be a groſs calumny, for ſeveral reaſons [t]. For firſt, admitting the fact to be true, that they did carry off their effects, this could prove no loſs to the ſoldiers, but quite the contrary; ſince if they had now fallen into their hands, the commiſſioners would have ſeized them for the protector's uſe, in purſuance of the order before-mentioned. Next, the general could do nothing in this reſpect, without the conſent of the other commiſſioners; and laſtly, it appears by the moſt authentic account we have of this affair, that the ſoldiers were ſo far from being diſſatisfied with his conduct, that they relied upon him to repreſent their grievances at home, and to procure redreſs; which he did as far as was in his power [u]. The reaſon of his being firſt aſperſed, was, a perſuaſion that he was a confident and creature of *Cromwell's*; which is ſo far from being true, that the very contrary is certain. The protector hated, and was jealous of him, and conferred on him this command, merely to get him out of his way [w]. The truth is, the fault lay in the protector's ſcheme,

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[s] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 395. [t] Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 306. [u] All theſe facts the reader will find in the copious account of this voyage, publiſhed in Burchet. [w] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 673. Life of Dr. John Barwick, p. 184, 185. Heath's chronicle, p. 369.

ſcheme, which was, to have raiſed a large ſupply for his own empty coffers from this expedition. This induced him to tie the commiſſioners down, to hinder the ſoldiers from keeping their plunder, upon pain of death; and their inſiſting upon this, had like to have been the ruin of the whole undertaking [x]. The reader muſt diſcern the juſtice of theſe remarks, from the facts before laid down, which are indiſputable; and, as to ſpeak truth freely, and give mens characters, impartially, ought to be the ſtudy of an hiſtorian, I hope, this will juſtify me for inſiſting ſo long on this head.

ADMIRAL *Blake*'s fleet continued all this time in the *Mediterranean*, and was now in the road to *Cadiz*, where he received the greateſt civilities from the *Spaniards*, and lived on the beſt terms imaginable with them; for, till the blow was ſtruck at *Jamaica*, *Cromwell*, to the beſt of his power, carefully concealed his deſign to make war. When this was known, the *Spaniards* declared immediately againſt him, and ſeized the effects of all the *Engliſh* merchants in their dominions, to an immenſe value; an incident which ſeems not to have been ſufficiently conſidered, by thoſe who cry up the protector's conduct ſo highly [y]. This war, as we have before obſerved, was, at the bottom, undertaken for his own advantage, from a proſpect of ſupplying his coffers with money, without putting him under the neceſſity of calling parliaments [z]. It is true, that in public declarations, he talked much of his regard to trade, and his concern for the freedom of navigation: and no doubt, he was ſincere in this, ſo far as it was conſiſtent with his own power

[x] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 390, 391. [y] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Ludlow, Rapin. [z] Bate's hiſtory of the troubles in England, part ii. p. 205.

power, and not a jot beyond it; otherwiſe he would have conſidered the profits of our national trade with *Spain*, which were at that time very great, the *French* having never interfered, and the *Dutch* being utterly diſliked by the *Spaniards*. At leaſt he ſhould have taken care by ſome timely hint, to enable ſo great a body as the merchants trading to *Spain* then were to have withdrawn their effects; and the neglect of this was not the effect of any inattention, a thing impoſſible while *Thurloe* had the management of his affairs, but the pure conſequence of public intereſt claſhing with his private views; and, therefore, throughout the whole tranſaction, he appears to have been a great politician, but no patriot. I ſay nothing as to his breach of the law of nations, in attacking the *Spaniards* without any previous declaration; becauſe in the firſt place, this was not very inconſiſtent with the principles on which his government was founded; and next, the *Spaniards* had broke through all rules of true policy, as well as decorum, in acknowledging and courting him as they did; and therefore, felt no more than the juſt effects of their own refinements.

When nothing more was to be got by concealing his intentions, the protector ſent Mr. *Montague* with a ſmall ſquadron of men of war into the *Mediterranean* to join *Blake*, and to carry him freſh inſtructions; the principal of which was to block up the port of *Cadiz*, in which there was a fleet of forty ſail, intended to ſecure the *Flota*: and at the ſame time the ſailing of this fleet was prevented, the *Engliſh* were to uſe their utmoſt diligence to hinder the *Flota* from coming in without ſharing in the riches on board[a]. *Blake* and *Montague* executed their orders with equal

[a] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 676. Heath's chronicle, p. 381.

equal ſkill and induſtry, taking care to obtain a ſupply of freſh proviſions and water, as often as they had occaſion, from the *Portugal* coaſt. Thither for that purpoſe they had ſailed with the greateſt part of the fleet, when the ſquadron from the *Indies* approached *Cadiz*. Rear-admiral *Stayner* with ſeven frigates plied to and fro, till theſe eight large ſhips were in view, which he preſently knew to be what they really were; whereas they took his veſſels, becauſe they lay very low in the water, for fiſhermen. This gave him an opportunity of coming up with and fighting them, though the weather hindered four of his frigates from acting. Yet with the *Speaker*, the *Bridgwater*, and the *Plymouth*, he did his buſineſs, and after an obſtinate engagement ſunk two, ran two more a-ground, and took two of the *Spaniſh* veſſels, ſo that two only eſcaped. In one of thoſe was the marquiſs of *Badajox*, of the family of *Lopez*, who had been governor of *Peru* for the king of *Spain*, who was killed in the fight, with his wife, and a daughter; the eldeſt ſon and his brother were ſaved, and brought ſafe to the generals with this prize, wherein were two millions of pieces of eight; and as much there was in one of them that was ſunk. The admiral who carried the flag (for concealing the richeſt ſhip) with the *Portugal* prize recovered the ſhore. Soon after general *Montague* with the young marquiſs of *Badajox*, and part of the fleet to eſcort the ſilver, returned into *England*, delivered the bullion into the *Mint*; and at his interpoſition the young marquiſs was ſet at liberty. For this a thankſgiving, with a narrative to be read thereon, was appointed by the parliament, who iſſued their declaration of war againſt *Spain*[b].

THE

[b] Clarendon, ubi ſupra. Heath, Bate, Whitlock, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Kennet, Rapin.

THE protector took a great deal of care of his new conqueſt, *Jamaica* and within a very ſhort time after the return of *Penn* and *Venables*, ſent a conſiderable ſupply thither, and a ſquadron of men of war. Theſe troops were commanded by colonel *Humfreys*, but major *Sedgwick* went with him, and had a commiſſion to be governor of the iſland[c]. When they came thither, they found things in a much better poſture than they expected. Colonel *D'oyly*, to whom *Forteſcue* on account of ſickneſs had reſigned his command, was a perſon ſo indefatigable, that he had ſubdued all the oppoſition he met with, and driven the *Spaniards* out of the iſland, notwithſtanding, they had fortified themſelves in two or three places very ſtrongly, and had been abundantly ſupplied with artillery and ammunition from *Cuba*[d]. It is eaſy to account for the different behaviour of theſe men here, and at *Hiſpaniola*. They fought there for the profit of others; but at this time for their own. They were then utterly unacquainted with the climate, and ſo leſs able to bear it; whereas they were now in ſome meaſure ſeaſoned to it: yet this colonel *D'oyly* who did ſo much for the colony, was to be removed at all events from the government, becauſe he had been formerly a cavalier. *Sedgwick*, however, who was to have been his ſucceſſor, quickly died, and ſo did *Forteſcue*; and *Humfreys*, according to his orders, returned home with a ſmall fleet[e]. Upon this, the protector diſpatched another 1000 men from *Scotland* with one colonel *Brayne*, who was to take the government out of colonel *D'oyly*'s hands: but he likewiſe dying almoſt as ſoon as

[c] Heath's chronicle, p. 377. [d] Engliſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 308. [e] Idem, ibid. Heath's chronicle, p. 383.

as he ſet his foot on the iſland, *D'oyly* ſtill continued in the exerciſe of his authority, and with great ſkill and integrity managed all things there to the time of the reſtauration; and then *Jamaica* was become through his care and vigilance a very conſiderable, and, for the time it had been ſettled, a very populous plantation [f].

We are now to return to the proceedings of the fleet in the *Mediterranean*. Admiral *Blake* continued to cruize before the haven of *Cadiz*, and in the *Streights*, till the month of *April* 1657; and having then information of another plate-fleet which had put into the haven of *Santa Cruz*, in the iſland of *Teneriff*; he immediately ſailed thither, and arrived before the town the 20th of *April* [g]. Here he found the *Fleta*, conſiſting of ſix galleons very richly laden, and ten other veſſels. The latter lay within the port, with a ſtrong barricado before them; the galleons without the boom, becauſe they drew too much water to lie within it. The port itſelf was ſtrongly fortified, having on the north a large caſtle well ſupplied with artillery, and ſeven forts united by a line of communication, well lined with muſketeers. The *Spaniſh* governor thought the place ſo ſecure, and his own diſpoſitions ſo well made, that when the maſter of a *Dutch* ſhip deſired leave to ſail, becauſe he apprehended *Blake* would preſently attack the ſhips in the harbour; the *Spaniard* anſwered tartly, *Get you gone, if you will; and let* Blake *come, if he dares* [h]. The admiral, after viewing the enemy's preparations, called a council of war, wherein it was reſolved to attempt deſtroying

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[f] See the whole of theſe tranſactions in a treatiſe entitled, Jamaica viewed, with all the ports, harbours, &c. by E. H. i. e. Edmund Hickeringhill. London 1661, 8°. [g] Heath's chronicle, p. 391, Clarendon, Burchet. [h] Heath's chronicle, as before-cited.

ſtroying the enemy's ſhips; for it was impoſſible to bring them off: and to this end he ſent captain *Stayner* with a ſquadron to attack them, who ſoon forced his paſſage into the bay, while other frigates played on the forts and line, and hindred them from giving the ſhips much diſturbance. *Stayner*'s ſquadron was quickly ſupported by *Blake* with the whole fleet, who boarded the *Spaniſh* galleons, and in a few hours made himſelf maſter of them all, and then ſet them on fire; ſo that the whole *Spaniſh* fleet was burnt down to the water's edge, except two ſhips which ſunk outright; and then the wind veering to the S. W. he paſſed with his fleet ſafe out of the port again, loſing in this dangerous attempt no more than forty-eight men killed, and having about one hundred and twenty wounded [i]. It was, without queſtion, the boldeſt undertaking of its kind that had ever been performed; and the *Spaniards* who are romantic enough in their own conduct, were ſo much aſtoniſhed at his, that they quite loſt their ſpirits, and thence forward never thought themſelves ſafe, either from numbers or fortifications [k].

When the protector had the news of this glorious ſucceſs, he immediately ſent it by his ſecretary *Thurloe* to the parliament then ſitting, and they, on hearing the particulars, ordered a day to be ſet apart for a thankſgiving, a ring of the value of five hundred pounds to the general, as a teſtimony of his country's gratitude; a preſent of one hundred to the captain who brought the news, and their thanks to all the officers and ſoldiers concerned in the action [l]. Captain *Richard Stayner* returning ſoon after was

[i] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Baſe, Burchet, Rapin. [k] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 681. [l] Heath's chronicle, p. 392. Ludlow's memoirs, p. 603.

was knighted by the protector: now was it long before *Blake* and the fleet returned, which put an end to the *Spaniſh* war by ſea; for the protector had lately entered into a cloſer conjunction with *France*, and in conſequence thereof, ſent over a body of land-forces into *Flanders*, where they aſſiſted in taking the fortreſs and port of *Dunkirk*, which was delivered into the hands of the *Engliſh*, who kept it till after the reſtauration [m].

THERE had been for ſome years a very ſharp war carried on in the north, between the kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which in its conſequences was like to affect the reſt of *Europe*, eſpecially the maritime powers [n]. The *Dutch* ſaw that their trade to the *Baltick* would be ruined if the king of *Sweden* prevailed, who was now become the ſuperior both by land and ſea; they therefore reſolved to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the *Danes*, which they did, and thereby ſaved *Copenhagen* [o]. In *England* it was judged to be of no leſs conſequence to ſuccour the *Swedes*, yet it was not thought proper to avow the deſign as the *Dutch* had done; and, therefore, ſir *George Ayſcue*, who was drawn out of his retirement to command a ſtout ſquadron ſent upon this occaſion, had orders to accept a commiſſion as admiral from the king of *Sweden*, which would have enabled him to act more effectually for his ſervice, than the *Dutch* did in favour of their allies. This was in the year 1657; but it was ſo late in the ſeaſon, that he was not able to reach *Copenhagen* for the ice [p]. The next

[m] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet, Rapin. [n] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol i. p. 383. Hiſtoire de Holland, par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 112. [o] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 521. [p] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Baſnage, De la Neuville.

year *Cromwell* died; and it was generally conceived, that the *English* would have meddled no farther in the affair [s]. It proved otherwiſe, however; for a ſtout fleet was fitted out, and ſent to the *Baltick*, under the command of admiral *Montague*, who had acquired a great reputation by ſerving in conjunction with *Blake*. He had, beſides his commiſſion of admiral, another, whereby he was joined with the ambaſſadors *Sidney* and *Honeywood* [t]. He arrived at *Copenhagen*, and managed his affairs with great dexterity, that he avoided coming to blows, that he might not [illegible] the *Dutch* war; compelled the king of *Sweden*, by [illegible] him in a proper ſtyle, to think of peace, to which he was otherwiſe very little inclined; and while he did all this, and executed effectually the duties of thoſe high offices with which he was entruſted, he entertained a ſecret correſpondence with the king, and diſpoſed all things on board the fleet for his ſervice [u]. When meaſures were concerted for ſir *George Booth*'s riſing, which was the laſt attempt made in favour of the king before his reſtauration, notice of it was given to admiral *Montague* at *Copenhagen*, who inſtantly reſolved to return to *England*. His fellow-[illegible], who were hearty republicans, had by this time [illegible] intelligence of his intercourſe with the king, and [illegible] intended to have ſeized him in caſe he came about; [illegible] wiſe enough to put it out of their power, and [illegible] alſo to run no riſk in returning without orders; for [illegible] called a council of war, he complained to them [illegible] proviſions grew ſhort, and that it would be a very difficult [illegible] to ſupply themſelves in that

[s] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 553. [t] Heath's chronicle, p. 416. [u] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 743. [x] Idem, ibid.

that part of the world, there being a *Dutch* fleet there at the ſame time. Upon this, it was unanimouſly reſolved to ſail home immediately; and this reſolution was no ſooner taken, than the admiral weighed anchor and returned to *England*[u], very opportunely and very unexpectedly.

On his arrival he found things in quite another ſituation than he expected, ſir *George Booth* had been defeated and taken priſoner, and the old parliament was again reſtored; ſo that admiral *Montague*, though he had forty ſail of ſtout ſhips under his command, and the ſeamen much at his devotion, yet thought it ſafeſt to leave the fleet, and to come up freely and give an account of his conduct to the parliament; which he did in *September* 1659, and was afterwards allowed to retire to his houſe in the country[w]. The command of the fleet was then entruſted with admiral *Lawſon*, who continued in the channel with a larger ſquadron of ſhips than ordinary, till general *Monk* came out of *Scotland*. As ſoon as the deſigns of that great man began to ripen, he propoſed that *Montague* ſhould be recalled, and reſtored to the command of the navy; which was accordingly done, and the ſupreme power in maritime affairs veſted in him and *Monk*[x]. Admiral *Montague* went inſtantly to his command, and was ſurprized to find that *Lawſon* and the reſt of the officers were much better inclined to the intended change than he expected; and therefore he did not much diſſemble either his inclinations or intentions. On the fourth of *April* 1660, he received his majeſty's letter, and cauſed it to be read publickly

[u] Heath's chronicle, p. 426. [w] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Burchet, Rapin, &c. [x] Heath's chronicle, p. 439. Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow's memoirs, &c.

lickly in the fleet; immediately after which, without waiting for the parliament's orders, he ſailed for *Holland*, and ſent an officer to the *Hague*, to inform the king that he was ready to receive him[y].

We have thus without entering deep into politics, run through the naval tranſactions of this memorable period, and have now only the lives of the moſt eminent ſeamen who flouriſhed therein to employ our care. But, previous to this, it may not be improper to obſerve, that it was wholly owing to the unanimity of our ſailors, and their generous diſregard to domeſtic broils, that we obtained ſo many glorious victories at ſea, and ſpread the terror of the *Engliſh* name abroad, when the *Engliſh* nation at home was on the brink of deſtruction; that the parliament followed the king's ſteps exactly, in claiming the honour of the flag, aſſerting the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and looking with a jealous eye on the encroachments of the *Dutch* and *French*; that in all our naval expeditions we came off with honour, and moſtly with victory; whereas in conjunct expeditions, wherein land were joined with ſea-forces, we were leſs fortunate; that our readineſs in protecting trade, and reſolution to revenge any inſults on our honour, contributed not a little to the extending our commerce, and raiſing our reputation; laſtly, that theſe advantages were all the nation had to ballance a multitude of misfortunes, our country being haraſſed and deſtroyed by contending parties, our induſtry diſcouraged by ſo long a war, and moſt of our manufactures ruined. On the other hand, the iniquitous oppreſſions, the hypocritial diſſimulation, the ſcandalous outrages on our moſt excellent conſtitution,

[y] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 735.

ſtitution, were ſo notorious, that we muſt have become very deſpicable in the eyes of our neighbours, but for the courage and conduct of our ſeamen [a]. Amongſt whom all parties have agreed to give the firſt rank to one who brought no other qualities than good ſenſe, and a bold ſpirit, when he aſſumed the command of the *Engliſh* fleet, and yet ſoon became the ableſt ſailor in it, and as ſuch claims our regard.

MEMOIRS *of Admiral* BLAKE

HIS deſcent was very honourable, the family from which he ſprung having been long ſettled at *Plansfield*, in the pariſh of *Spaxton* in *Somerſetſhire* [a]. Mr. *Humphry Blake*, his father was a *Spaniſh* merchant, and having acquired a conſiderable fortune for the times in which he lived, bought a ſmall eſtate in the neighbourhood of *Bridgwater*, where his family had been long ſettled. He had ſeveral children, of whom the eldeſt, *Robert*, is he whoſe life we are now to write. He was born in the month of *Auguſt* 1598, and during his father's life-time, was educated at a free-ſchool in *Bridgwater* [b]. He afterwards removed to *Oxford*, where he was firſt a member of St. *Alban's-Hall*, and next of *Wadham-College*. After taking a degree, and meeting with more than one diſappointment in his endeavours to obtain academical perferment, he left the univerſity, when he had ſtaid there ſeven years [c].

[a] See the concluſion of lord Clarendon's hiſtory, and of ſir Philip Warwick's memoirs. [a] Lives britiſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 75. Wood's faſt. Oxon. vol. i. col. 203. [b] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 681. Wood, ubi ſupra. [c] Lives Engliſh and foreign, as before, Wood, Bate.

DURING his reſidence in that ſeat of the muſes, he ſufficiently diſplayed his temper, which in reality was that of a humouriſt, uſually grave, and in appearance moroſe; but inclined in an evening, and with particular friends to be very chearful, though ſtill with a tincture of ſeverity, which inclined him to bear hard on the pride of courtiers, and the power of church-men; which, as the noble hiſtorian well obſerves, rendered him very agreeable to the good-fellows in thoſe days; though whether there was any ground from this diſpoſition of his to conclude him a republican, is, I think, not eaſy to be determined [d]. This is certain, that his reputation for probity, and his known averſion to perſecution, engaged the puritans to promote his election as a burgeſs for *Bridgwater*, in the parliament which ſat in *April* 1640 [e].

THAT aſſembly was diſſolved too early for Mr. *Blake* to make any diſcovery therein of his talents as a ſenator; and in the long parliament, which ſat ſoon after, he loſt his election. When the war broke out between the king and parliament, he declared for the latter, and took arms very early in their ſervice; but where, and in what quality, is not very clear. However, he was very ſoon made a captain of dragoons, in which ſtation he ſhewed himſelf as able and active an officer as any in the ſervice, and as ſuch, was made uſe of upon all occaſions, where either boldneſs or dexterity were particularly requiſite [f].

IN 1643, we find him at *Briſtol*, under the command of colonel *Fiennes*, who intruſted him with a little fort on the line, in which he firſt gave the world a proof of his

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[d] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 681. [e] Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 76. Wood's Faſt. Oxonienſ. vol. i. col. 204.
[f] Whitlock, Ruſhworth, Bate, Heath, Warwick.

his military virtues; for on the 26th of *July*, when prince *Rupert* attacked that important place, and the governor had agreed to ſurrender it upon articles, Mr. *Blake* ſtill held out his fort, and killed ſeveral of the king's forces. This exaſperated prince *Rupert* to ſuch a degree, that he talked of hanging him, had not ſome friends interpoſed, and excuſed him on account of his want of experience in war, and at their requeſt, though not without much difficulty, he was at laſt prevailed on to give up the fort [s].

AFTER this he ſerved in *Somerſetſhire*, under the command of *Popham*, who was governor of *Lyme*, to whoſe regiment *Blake* was lieutenant-colonel. As he was much beloved in his country, and as the greateſt part of the regiment were *Somerſetſhire* men, he had ſo good an intelligence in thoſe parts, that he, in conjunction with ſir *Robert Pye*, ſurprized *Taunton* for the parliament, where he found ten pieces of cannon, and a great deal of ammunition. In 1644, he was conſtituted governor of that place, which was of the utmoſt importance, being the only garriſon the parliament had in the weſt. The works about it were far from being ſtrong. He had no very numerous garriſon; yet by keeping a ſtrict diſcipline, and treating the townſmen well, he made a ſhift to keep it, though no great care was taken to furniſh him with ſupplies, and notwithſtanding he was ſometimes beſieged, and often blocked up by the king's forces. At length *Goring* came before the place with near 10,000 men, and preſſed *Blake* ſo cloſe, that he carried all the outworks, and actually took ſome houſes part of the town. However, he held out the reſt of the day and night with wonderful obſtinacy

[s] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 681.

till relief came; for which extaordinary ſervice, the parliament gave the garriſon a bounty of 2000 *l.* and colonel *Blake* a preſent of 500 *l.* All who have preſerved the memory of the ſignal events in that unhappy war, allow this to have been a ſingularly gallant, and ſoldier-like action [h].

COLONEL *Blake*, in *April* 1646, marched with a detachment from his garriſon and reduced *Dunſter-Caſtle*, a ſeat belonging to the ancient family of *Lutterel*, the troops poſted therein having given great diſturbance to the country; which was the laſt military atchievement he performed during this war. When the parliament voted, that no further addreſſes ſhould be made to the king. *Blake*, as governor of *Taunton*, was prevailed upon to join in an addreſs of thanks to the houſe of commons, for having taking this ſtep [i]. I ſay prevailed upon; becauſe this could never have been agreeable to his own ſentiments, if what the writer of his life tells us be true, that, when the king came to be tried, *Blake* diſapproved that meaſure as unjuſt in itſelf, and illegal in its nature; inſomuch, that he was frequently heard to ſay, *He would as freely venture his life to ſave the king, as ever he did to ſerve the parliament* [k]. This expreſſion, however, we muſt attribute rather to the generoſity of his temper, than to his political principles; ſince, after the king was murdered, he fell in roundly with the republican party, and next to *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, he was the ableſt and moſt ſucceſsful officer they had. One would wonder how ſo honeſt and diſintereſted a perſon, could take a ſhare in ſuch meaſures as were

[h] Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections, vol. vi. p. 28. Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 85. Wood's Faſt. Oxon. vol. i. col. 204.
[i] Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 87. [k] Ibid.

were certainly contrived by men of quite another ſtamp: but it ſeems, he ſatisfied himſelf, in all theſe changes, with the integrity of his own purpoſe, of adhering as far as he was able to his country's intereſt, and exerting his utmoſt capacity to exalt her glory. Theſe, though noble qualifications of themſelves, gave men of leſs honour and more cunning, an opportunity of uſing his great abilities and undaunted courage, for the furtherance of their own private views, with which he grew afterwards very uneaſy, and ſome ſay his diſcontent, became at length a mortal diſeaſe.

It is not eaſy to gueſs, what induced the parliament to make choice of him, who had always ſerved as a horſe-officer, to have the ſupreme command of the fleet. All our hiſtorians and memoir-writers, are ſilent as to their motive, and therefore, I hope the reader will excuſe me, if I hazard a conjecture on this head. The parliament had lately taken upon themſelves the rank, though not the title, of ſtates-general, and, therefore, might be inclined to make uſe of deputies for the direction both of fleets and armies, who were to judge in great points, and to be obeyed by ſuch as were ſkilful in their profeſſion, either as ſeamen or ſoldiers; for in their judgment to command was one thing, and to act another. His firſt ſervice was in driving prince *Rupert*'s fleet from the *Iriſh* coaſt, and then following him into the *Mediterranean*. This gave his maſters high ſatisfaction, both in reſpect to his capacity, and his fidelity in their ſervice, which they likewiſe acknowledged very obligingly [1]. His conduct indeed was equal, prudent, and ſucceſsful; for it not only put

[1] Whitlock, Heath, Bate, &c.

put an end to that kind of piratical war, which did ſo much damage to trade; but alſo ſtruck ſuch a terror into the *Spaniards* and *Portugueze*, as to prevent all thoſe diſputes which would have otherwiſe naturally happened, on the appearance of ſo new a power in *Europe*, as the common-wealth of *England*.

In the month of *February* 1651, *Blake* in his return homewards took a *French* man of war of forty guns; in reſpect to which action there happened ſome circumſtances that certainly deſerve to be particularly mentioned. The admiral commanded the captain on board him, and aſked him if he was willing to lay down his ſword? he anſwered, he was not: upon which *Blake* generouſly bid him return to his ſhip, and fight it out as long as he was able. The captain took him at his word, fought him bravely for about two hours, and then ſubmitting, went again on board *Blake*'s ſhip, firſt kiſſed, and then preſented his ſword to the admiral upon his knees. This ſhip, with four more, the admiral ſent into *England*; and not long after, arriving at *Plymouth* with his ſquadron, he there received the thanks of the parliament, for his vigilance and valour in his ſtation, and was conſtituted one of the lord wardens of the *Cinque-Ports*, as an additional mark of their confidence and favour [n].

In *March* following, colonel *Blake*, colonel *Popham*, and colonel *Deane*, or any two of them, were appointed by act of parliament to be admirals and generals of the fleet for the year enſuing, in which he reduced the iſlands of *Scilly*, *Guernſey*, and *Jerſey*, to the obedience of the parliament; and, as a new mark of honour, he was on the

[n] Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 92, 93.

the 25th of *November* elected one of the council of ſtate. When the neceſſity of a *Dutch* war became apparent, the parliament gave the higheſt teſtimony of their ſenſe of his merit, and of their entire confidence in his conduct, by conſtituting him, in *March* 1652, ſole general of the fleet for nine months. But though I mention this as a proof that they were apprehenſive of the war, yet, as I have ſaid elſewhere, there is no appearance of their judging a rupture to be ſo near as it really was; otherwiſe they would certainly have ſent *Blake* to ſea with a better fleet [a]. We have already given a diſtinct account of the firſt battle in the *Downs*, on the 19th of *May* 1652, excepting ſome circumſtances which perſonally relate to *Blake*, and which were therefore reſerved for this place. When he obſerved *Van Tromp* bore nearer his fleet than he had any occaſion to do, he ſaluted him with two guns without ball, to put him in mind of ſtriking ſail; upon which, the *Dutchman* in contempt fired on the contrary ſide. *Blake* fired a ſecond and a third gun, which *Van Tromp* anſwered with a broad-ſide; the *Engliſh* admiral perceiving his intention to fight, fingled out himſelf from the reſt of the fleet to treat with *Van Tromp* about that point of honour, and to prevent the effuſion of blood, and a national quarrel: when *Blake* approached nearer to *Van Tromp*, he and the reſt of his fleet, contrary to the law of nations (the *Engliſh* admiral coming with a deſign to treat) fired on *Blake* with whole broad-ſides. The admiral was in his cabbin drinking with ſome of his officers, little expecting to be ſaluted, when the ſhot broke the windows

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[a] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 634. Heath's chronicle, p. 314. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 254.

windows of the ſhip, and ſhattered the ſtern, which put him into a vehement paſſion, ſo that curling his whiſkers, as he uſed to do when he was angry, he commanded his men to anſwer the *Dutch* in their kind, ſaying, when his heat was ſomewhat over, *He took it very ill of* Van Tromp, *that he ſhould take his ſhip for a bawdy-houſe and break his windows.* *Blake* ſingly ſuſtained the ſhock of the *Dutch* fleet for ſome time, till his own ſhips, and the ſquadron under major *Bourne* could join them; and then the engagement grew hot and bloody on the enemy's ſide, till night put an end to it [o].

AFTER this battle, *Blake* lay in the *Downs* for a conſiderable time, which he ſpent in repairing and augmenting his fleet, and in detaching ſmall ſquadrons to cruize upon the enemy. About the beginning of *June*, finding he had force enough to undertake any ſervice, he cauſed a ſolemn faſt to be held on board his ſhips, to implore the bleſſing of God on their arms; and encouraged his ſeamen by the example of his zeal on this occaſion, as much as he had ever done, by his perſonal bravery in a time of action [p]. In the ſpace of this month, he ſent forty rich prizes into the river, and ſo effectually ruined the *Dutch* trade, and broke the ſpirits of ſuch as were appointed to ſupport it, that moſt of their veſſels declined coming through the channel, even under convoy; but choſe rather to put into *french* ports, land their cargoes there, and afterwards tranſport them to *Holland*, by land or water, as they could [q]. In the beginning of *July*, finding ſir *George Ayſcue* returned from *Barbadoes*, and a force ſufficient

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[o] Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 99. [p] Heath's Chronicle, Whitlock, Ludlow. [q] Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Vie de Cromwell, Blake's life, &c.

cient to guard the *Downs*, he reſolved to ſail northwards, to execute a deſign he had long meditated of deſtroying the herring-fiſhing, which he thought would have put an immediate end to the war, by convincing the *Dutch* of the folly of diſputing our ſovereignty in our own ſeas. This appears to have been the moſt judicious ſcheme laid down through the whole war; becauſe it tended to clear the ground of the quarrel, and to ſhew the *Dutch* their error in quarrelling with a nation, who had it in their power to diſtreſs them at any time in the tendereſt part; that which afforded a ſubſiſtance to many, and was the main ſource of wealth to all [r].

On the 2d of *July*, *Blake* bore away to the north, and quickly fell in with the *Dutch* fiſhing-veſſels, which were there in great numbers, under the protection of twelve men of war. *Blake* attacked their convoy, and they, knowing the importance of their charge, and having taken on board a great ſupply of freſh men from the veſſels under their care, fought bravely, and ſold their freedom dearly; but at laſt were every one taken, which left the fiſhery entirely at the admiral's mercy, who upon this occaſion ſhewed the rectitude of his heart, and the ſolidity of his underſtanding; for having firſt threatened thoſe buſſes with utter deſtruction, if ever they were found there again without leave, he afterwards freely permitted them to compleat their ladings, on their paying the TENTH herring, which was what king *Charles* demanded; and where this was refuſed, he ſunk or drove away their ſhips [s]. This ſervice is far from being properly treated

[r] Whitlock's Memorial, p. 540. Heath's Chronicle, p. 322. Hiſtoire de Holland par M. de la Neuville, tom. iii. p. 66. [s] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 635. Heath's chronicle, p. 322. Whitlock, Kennet, Rapin.

ed by our own writers; but the *Dutch*, who felt the weight of the blow, have ſet it in a true light. They acknowledge the fact, as I have ſtated it, in every circumſtance, except the taking the whole convoy, of which they tell us one ſhip eſcaped, and aſſign ſo good a reaſon for it, that I am apt to think the fact is true. The captain fled, ſay they, as ſoon as he heard *Blake* was coming; but an ingenious author obſerves, that *Tromp*'s not following *Blake* time enough, was the ruin of their fiſhery. And though, continues he, the herring-fiſhing may appear contemptible to ſtrangers, or to ſuch as do not reflect that commerce, is as it were, the ſoul of ſome ſtates; yet it is of infinite conſequence in *Holland*, on account eſpecially of the vaſt number of ſhips employed therein, which amount to more than 3000 every year [t]. Beſides, there are an incredible multitude of people employed in ſeveral ſorts of works relating to this fiſhing; inſomuch, that Mr. *de Wit*, who computed the inhabitants of *Holland* at two millions and a half, thought that near half a million acquired a ſubſiſtance from their fiſhery [u]. If therefore, the parliament had purſued *Blake*'s ſcheme, and had ſtationed a ſtout ſquadron on the coaſt of *Scotland*, they muſt have quickly ended this war on any terms they had thought fit to preſcribe.

I MUST upon this occaſion take notice of the only cenſure I have met with on our admiral's conduct, as I find it reported by lieutenant-general *Ludlow*, who ſays, that ſome thought the releaſing the herring-buſſes, and ſuffering

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[t] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 258. [u] Memoires de Jean de Wit, p. 30.

ing the ſeamen to return ſafely into *Holland*, was not to be juſtified; becauſe, by the help of theſe veſſels, we might have been enabled to erect a fiſhery, and thereby have obtained ſome reparation for the damages ſuſtained from the *Dutch*, and by detaining their mariners, they muſt have been exceedingly weakened and diſtreſſed [y]. There is, I muſt own, ſomething very plauſible in this objection; and, yet when it is thoroughly conſidered, I believe it will appear, that the admiral took the better courſe. He found moſt of theſe buſſes near harbours, into which they would have undoubtedly run, had he proceeded to extremities. The men on board theſe veſſels were between 6 and 7000. To have deſtroyed ſo many, would have been an act of great cruelty, and to have taken them, conſidering he had already above 1000 priſoners, would upon the whole have proved but an imprudent ſtep; ſo that, conſidering him as a brave man, an *Engliſhman*, and a chriſtian, one cannot well avoid commending him for ſo generous a behaviour towards his enemies. The *Dutch* writers readily acknowledge his courteſy and magnanimity [z], which I doubt not was approved by the parliament, who, however they came by their authority, uſed it with honour and moderation, and thereby ſet a proper example to the officers they employed.

His ſubſequent conduct during the *Dutch* war, has been already thoroughly accounted for; and, therefore, I ſhall only take notice here of the method our admiral took to keep the ſeamen eaſy, notwithſtanding all the changes

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[y] Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 420. This charge is tranſcribed in the Columna Roſtrata, p. 99.

[z] Particularly Baſnage, and the writer of Tromp's life.

changes that happened in the government. He told them it was his, and their buſineſs to act faithfully in their reſpective ſtations, and to do their duty to their country, whatever irregularities there might be in the councils at home; and would often ſay amongſt his officers, that ſtate-affairs were not their province, but that they were bound to keep foreigners from fooling us [7]. Theſe principles rendered him agreeable to all parties, and gained him ſo generally the reputation of a patriot, that when *Cromwell*, in his new model of a parliament, left the populous town of *Bridgewater* the choice of one repreſentative only, they very prudently fixed on their countryman Mr. *Blake* [8]. He was alſo very acceptable to the protector, though he was far enough from being his creature; for *Cromwell* knew that he was by principle for a commonwealth, and, therefore, choſe to employ him abroad as much as poſſible, knowing that was for the ſafety of his government, and that *Blake*'s concern for the glory of *England*, would influence him to do all, and even more than any other man could be excited to, by views of intereſt and ambition [9].

When he ſailed in 1654, into the *Mediterranean*, he came in the month of *December* into the road of *Cadiz*, where he was received with great reſpect and civility by the *Spaniards*, and indeed by all nations as well as the *Engliſh*, who were then in port. A *Dutch* admiral would not wear his flag while the *Engliſh* admiral was in the harbour; one of the victuallers attending his fleet, being

ſeparated

[7] Lives britiſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 109, and Wood ſays nearly the ſame thing, though in other Words. [8] Heath's Chronicle, p. 363. [9] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 681.

ſeparated from the reſt, fell in with the *French* admiral and ſeven men of war, near the *Streights* mouth. The captain of the victualling-ſloop was ordered on board the admiral, who enquired of him where *Blake* was, drank his health with five guns, and ſo wiſhed the captain a good voyage. The *Algerines* ſtood in ſuch awe of him, that they were wont to ſtop the *Sally*-rovers, and in caſe they had any *Engliſh* priſoners on board, took them out, and ſent them to *Blake*, in hopes of obtaining his favour [b]. From *Cadiz* he ſailed to *Malaga*, and while he lay in that road, gave ſuch a teſtimony of zeal for his country's honour, as was ſcarce ever equalled. Some of his ſeamen going aſhore, met the hoſt as it was carrying to ſome ſick perſon, and not only paid no reſpect thereto, but laughed at thoſe who did. The prieſt highly reſented this, and put the people upon revenging the indignity; upon which, they fell upon the ſailors, and beat them ſeverely. When they returned on board, they complained of this uſage, and the admiral inſtantly ſent a trumpet to the vice-roy to demand the prieſt who was the author of this inſult. The vice-roy anſwered, that he had no authority over prieſts; and, therefore, could not ſend him. Upon this, *Blake* ſent a ſecond meſſage, that he would not enter into the queſtion, who had power to ſend him; but that, if he was not ſent within three hours, he would infallibly burn the town about their ears. The inhabitants, to ſave themſelves, obliged the vice-roy to ſend the prieſt, who, when he came on board, excuſed himſelf to the admiral on account of the bad behaviour of the ſailors.

[b] Heath's chronicle, p. 366. Vie de Cromwell, vol. ii. p. 347. Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 113, 114.

Blake told him, that if he had complained to him, he would have puniſhed them ſeverely; for he would not ſuffer any of his men to affront the eſtabliſhed religion of a place where he touched: but he blamed him for ſetting the *Spaniards* to beat them; adding, *that he would have him and the world know, that none but an* ENGLISHMAN *ſhould chaſtiſe an* ENGLISHMAN [c].

WE have already mentioned the taking part of the plate-fleet by captain *Stayner*, an incident of ſuch conſequence to *Cromwell*, that the ingenious Mr. *Waller* wrote a poem to perſuade him to lay hold of this opportunity, and while the people were pleaſed with the ſight of ſo much *Spaniſh* bullion, to ſet the crown upon his head [d]. We have likewiſe entered into a detail of the celebrated action at *Santa Cruz*, and have ſhewn how glorious it was for his country, and his profeſſion, no ſeaman having ever attempted any thing of that kind before. But there is a circumſtance yet behind, which will perhaps redound more to his own glory, than even the burning of the *Spaniſh* ſhips in ſo well-fortified a port. His brother capt. *Benjamin Blake*, for whom he had a very tender affection, was guilty of ſome miſdemeanor in the action, for which he was, by ſentence from *Blake*, removed from his ſhip, and the command of it given to another [e]. This was ſuch an inſtance of diſcipline, and muſt have had ſo ſtrong an effect on the minds of all who ſerved under him, that we need not wonder ſuch extraordinary things were performed by men ſo ſtrictly tied to their duty. To ſay the

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[c] Biſhop Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 80, 81.
[d] Waller's poems, p. 274. [e] Lives engliſh and foreign, vol. ii. p. 121.

the truth, diſcipline is the ſoul of ſervice. Men are apt to meaſure the conſequences of things by the rewards and puniſhments which attend them; and if reſolution purchaſes nothing, or neglect is eaſily excuſed, an army or a fleet may, by the help of the taylor and carpenter, make a fine ſhew, but will prove a terror to none but thoſe who pay them. An officer like *Blake*, who will do juſtice upon his brother, will be feared, admired, and beloved; his ſailors will be ready to undertake any thing at his command, and his acts of courage will ſo tranſcend what happens amongſt debauched poſterity, that they will be glad to ſtile that temerity, which in its day paſſed only for a bold attempt.

In a ſhort time after the deſtruction of the enemy's fleet at *Teneriff*, we find *Blake* cruzing again off the harbour of *Cadiz*; where, perceiving his ſhips were become foul, and that his own health and ſpirits wore away, he reſolved to ſail for *England* [f]. His diſtemper was a complication of dropſy and ſcurvy, brought upon him by being for three years together at ſea, and wanting all that time, the conveniencies requiſite for the cure of his diſeaſe [g]. In his paſſage home, it encreaſed upon him, and he became ſo ſenſible of his approaching end, that he frequently enquired for land, a mark of his affection for his native ſoil, which, however, he did not live to ſee, dying, as his ſhip, *The St. George*, entered *Plymouth Sound*, on the 17th of *Auguſt*, 1657, about 59 years of age. His body was the next day embalmed, and wrapped in lead, his bowels taken out, and buried in the great church at *Plymouth*, and his corps, by order of the protector, conveyed by water to *Greenwich*-

[f] Heath's chronicle, p. 401. [g] Mercurius politicus, No. 375. Heath's chronicle, as before, Whitlock's memorials.

houſe, whence he reſolved to have it carried to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, and there interred with the utmoſt ſolemnity, as the laſt mark of reſpect, that could be paid to the noble ſpirit which once animated this tenement of clay [h].

On the fourth of *September*, after the corps had lain ſeveral days in ſtate, it was carried from *Greenwich* in a magnificent barge, covered with velvet, adorned with eſcutcheons, and pendants, accompanied by his brothers, relations, and ſervants in mourning, by *Oliver*'s privy-council, the commiſſioners of the admiralty and navy, the lord-mayor, and aldermen of *London*, the field-officers of the army, and many other perſons of honour and quality, in a great number of barges and wherries, covered with mourning, marſhalled and ordered by the heralds at arms, who directed and attended the ſolemnity. Thus they paſſed to *Weſtminſter*-bridge, and, at their landing, proceeded in the ſame manner, through a guard of ſeveral regiments of foot, to the abbey. His dear friend, general *Lambert*, though then in diſgrace with the protector, attending on his horſe. The proceſſion over, the body was interred in a vault built on purpoſe in the chapel of *Henry* VII [i].

This was an honour paid to his predeceſſors *Deane* and *Popham*, by the parliament; and the protector would not be behind in civility or magnificence, where it coſt ſo little, and had a viſible tendency to raiſe the credit of his adminiſtration ſo much. But great offence has been taken at the removing this body after the reſtauration. The writer of his life, is particularly angry at this diſturbing of his bones [k].

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[h] Carrington's life of Cromwell, p. 247. Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 122, 123. [i] Heath's chronicle, p. 402. Ludlow's memoirs, vol. ii. p. 603. Lives Engliſh and foreign, p. 123.

bones [k]. A late reverend author, to make the injury ſtill greater, tells us, that, at the reſtauration, his body was taken out of the grave, and flung, with others, into a common pit [l]. This had been a great indignity indeed; but it ſo happens, that the fact is not true. An order was ſent, ſome time after the reſtauration, directing the dean and chapter of *Weſtminſter*, to cauſe ſuch bodies as had been interred in that church, during the troubles, to be removed; which we may the leſs wonder at, if we conſider, that *Cromwell*'s, *Ireton*'s, *Bradſhaw*'s, and ſir *William Conſtable*'s bodies were all interred there. The order, therefore, was general, and had no ſort of diſtinct reference to this great admiral. So far from it, that it appears from a very authentic memorandum, that on the 12th of *September*, 1661, his corps was removed from the abbey, and buried in the church-yard: neither could this be called taking out of the grave, ſince the coffin ſtood in a vault [m]. Nay, to ſhew the reſpect the cavaliers, or royaliſts had for him, we need only mention the characters that have been given him; ſince they come all, or at leaſt the far greateſt part of them, from perſons of that party.

THE earl of *Clarendon* ſays, "He was the firſt man "that declined the old track, and made it manifeſt, that "the ſcience might be attained in leſs time than was ima-"gined; and deſpiſed thoſe rules which had been long "in practice, to keep his ſhip and men out of danger, "which had been held in former times a point of great a-"bility and circumſpection; as if the principal art requi-"ſite in the captain of a ſhip, had been to be ſure to come

[k] See the laſt cited book, p. 123, 124. [l] Neale's hiſtory of the puritans, vol. iv. p. 174. [m] Biſhop Kennet's regiſter and chronicle, p. 536.

" home ſafe again. He was the firſt man, who brought " the ſhips to contemn caſtles on ſhore, which had been " thought ever very formidable, and were diſcovered by " him to make a noiſe only, and to fright thoſe who " could be rarely hurt by them. He was the firſt that in- " fuſed that proportion of courage into the ſeamen, by " making them ſee by experience, what mighty things " they could do, if they were reſolved; and taught them " to fight in fire, as well as upon water: and though he " hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the " firſt that gave the example of that kind of naval cou- " rage, and bold and reſolute atchievements [n]."

DOCTOR *Bate*, in drawing his character, ſays, " He " was a man deſerving praiſe even from an enemy.—— " Being advanced to a command at ſea, he ſubdued the " *Scilly-Iſlands* near home, and having attained the office " and title of an admiral, performed things worthy of im- " mortal memory abroad. For he humbled the pride of " *France*, reduced *Portugal* to reaſon, broke the naval " force of *Holland*, and drove them to the ſhelter of their " ports, ſuppreſſed the rovers of *Barbary*, and twice tri- " umphed over *Spain*. Alone blameable in this, that he " complied with the parricides [o]." Honeſt *Anthony Wood*, who obſerves, that he was admired and applauded by the royaliſts, in his blunt manner, celebrates his praiſes thus. " He was a man wholly devoted to his country's ſervice, " reſolute in undertakings, and moſt faithful in the per- " formance of them. With him, valour ſeldom miſſed " its reward, nor cowardice its puniſhment [p]." We have

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[n] Hiſtory of the Rebellion, p.p. 681. [o] Elenchus motuum, p. 323. [p] Faſti oxonienſes, vol. i. col. 204.

a fine picture of him, by *Kennet*, in his compleat hiſtory of *England*, and a very fair one by *Echard*: to theſe, becauſe the lines were never printed before, I will add a ſhort encomium in verſe.

While Portugal *ſhall of her* Indies *boaſt*,
While Naples *glories in her beauteous coaſt*,
While pirates unto Africk's *ſhore reſort*,
While Tuſcany's *enrich'd by her fair port*,
While the Dutch *fiſh, the* Spaniard *vaunts his mines*,
To ſtealing conqueſts while proud France *inclines*,
While ſeas ſtill roar, while ſhips divide their waves,
While death, for fame, each gallant ſailor braves,
Thy praiſe ſhall live: and future heroes take,
As Cæſar's *once—the nobler name of* BLAKE.

In reference to the admirals *Deane*, *Popham*, and *Rainſborough*, we have very few, ſcarce any, memorials left of them. As to the firſt, he is mentioned by lord *Clarendon*, as a perſon raiſed by his own merit; and though this entitled him, when ſlain in the *Dutch* war, to a pompous funeral in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, yet no care was taken to preſerve to poſterity, either by tomb or inſcription, the memory of thoſe military atchievements by which his reputation was acquired [q]. Col. *Popham* was raiſed to the command of the fleet, rather out of regard to his fidelity to the parliament, and his being known for a gallant and well accompliſhed gentleman, than for any ſkill in ſea-affairs; and as to *Rainſborough*, we have already ſhewn how he came

[q] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 689. I have ſeen a letter written in thoſe times, wherein it is ſaid, that the parliament ſettled a large allowance on this admiral's wife and children.

came in, and went out of the fleet, through the prejudice of the ſailors againſt him, particularly on account of his promoting a very ſevere diſcipline. After this, he returned to his command in the army, where he made a conſiderable figure, chiefly by the favour of *Cromwell*, who is thought to have had a greater regard for him, than for any other perſon; and that expoſed him to the fury of the royaliſts, who ſurprized him in his quarters at *Doncaſter*, to which place he came, in order to form the ſiege of *Pomfret*-caſtle, and, on his making ſome reſiſtance, killed him [r].

In reſpect to other famous ſeamen within this period, ſuch as *Monk*, *Montague*, *Lawſon*, *Ayſcue*, *Penn*, and many more, to whoſe memory a juſt tribute of praiſe is due, they fall properly under the next chapter: for though their merit was firſt made known in theſe times of diſtraction (as civil wars generally manifeſt great ſpirits), yet their nobleſt exploits were afterwards performed, by which alſo they acquired thoſe titles, whereby they are now known to poſterity. Let us then conclude this part of our ſubject, with a few remarks on the ſtate of trade and plantations.

The commerce of *England*, had been increaſing for many years, when the civil war broke out, and there ſeems to be a good reaſon to believe, that it continued in a flouriſhing condition during the parliament's adminiſtration: but then it certainly declined, in ſome meaſure from foreign and unavoidable cauſes; and in ſome meaſure too, from the errors of the ſucceeding government. In regard to the former, we muſt conſider, that the peace of *Munſter*, in 1648, changed the face of affairs in *Europe* as to trade, and this altogether to our diſadvantage. Before that time, the *French* had few or no ſhips; and though it be true,

[r] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Kennet, Rapin.

true, that our trade with *France*, even then created a balance againſt us, yet we were no loſers by it, but rather gainers on the whole, becauſe we exported to *Italy*, and elſewhere, a great part of the goods we took from *France*. Before the treaty of *Munſter*, we had the whole *Spaniſh* trade in our hands; whereas, after the *Dutch* came into a large ſhare of it, at the ſame time that they managed the whole trade of the *French*, till by degrees, rather through the wiſdom of the *French* miniſtry, than of the nation, it was taken out of their hands alſo. As to the errors of the protector's government, in reſpect to trade, they were great and fatal, though (not to load his memory unjuſtly) perhaps they were not intended. In the firſt place, taxes were much higher than in former times. He impoſed 60,000 pounds *per* month by his own authority, and afterwards he procured from parliament, a grant of 200,000 pounds for his civil liſt; 400,000 pounds for the expence of the navy; and 700,000 pound for the army; ſo that the whole revenue came to one million three hundred thouſand pounds *per. ann.* a ſum almoſt incredible, compared with the modeſt grants of former times [s]. In the next place, theſe taxes were very unequally laid; and moſt of thoſe burthenſome methods of raiſing money were then introduced, which have lain heavy upon us ever ſince [t]. I ſay nothing of the violent methods taken to raiſe vaſt ſums upon particular

[s] Happy future ſtate of England, p. 187. This book has no author's name in the title, but the dedication of it to the earl of Sunderland is ſubſcribed P. P. i. e. Peter Pett. and abundance of curious obſervations are to be found therein.

[t] For a comprehenſive view of theſe exactions, the reader may have recourſe to a calculation prefixed to Heath's chronicle, wherein it is ſhewn, that, in five year's time, little leſs than 20,000,000 l. were levied upon the people.

particular occaſions, which rendered property very precarious, and all together brought ſuch a diſcouragement upon induſtry, as ſhewed itſelf in the declenſion of the coinage; in the leſſening the number of the inhabitants of the city of *London*; in decreaſing our ſhipping, and in many other ways. But the greateſt of all his miſtakes, as to the true intereſt of *England*, was in the affair of the *Spaniſh* war; for, though the ſtate might be a gainer by the vaſt quantity of plate taken by *Blake* and *Montague*, yet the nation loſt thereby; ſince, if the peace had continued, we muſt have drawn larger ſums from *Spain*, in payment for our manufactures; and conſequently, that mighty maſs of wealth which was deſtroyed at *Santa Cruz*, was a very conſiderable detriment to us as well as to the *Spaniards*: for if it had come into their hands, we muſt have had a large ſhare of it; whereas it was buried in the ſea, and ſo the whole amount loſt to the trading intereſt in *Europe* for ever. Add to this, that in the end, the *Spaniards* were ſo reduced, that they were forced to hire *Dutch* ſhips to go to the *Indies*, and this opened a new ſcene of trade to that wiſe and induſtrious people, which otherwiſe had never fallen into their hands. Part indeed of theſe loſſes were concealed from the ſight of the nation, by the increaſe of our plantation-trade, of which I ſhall give a very ſuccinct account.

As the ſeverities exerciſed by the prelates in the reign of king *Charles* I. drove multitudes to *New-England*, ſo the diſtractions of ſucceeding times, contributed greatly to the increaſe of all our colonies, particularly *Barbadoes* and *Virginia*, which *Cromwell* for his own eaſe encouraged, and the plantation of *Jamaica*, gave a new face to things in that part of the world, by opening ſeveral branches of commerce

merce unknown to us before; this, together with the navigation-act, preſerved us, as I have ſaid, from feeling all the effects which otherwiſe muſt have followed from the miſtakes in policy before mentioned, and which in reality have been ſeverely felt ſince. Beſides, our plantation-trade was then new, and no other ſtate interfered in the commerce carried on in *Europe*, with the commodities brought from thoſe parts; inſomuch, that immenſe eſtates were made in a ſhort ſpace of time, eſpecially in *Barbadoes*, where ſome, who carried over only a few hundred pounds, came to be poſſeſſed of ſeveral thouſand pounds a year, which, without queſtion, encouraged numbers of adventurers, and enabled the *Engliſh* to extend their trade and colonies in that part of the world, as will hereafter be more largely ſhewn [u].

[u] The reader may receive ſatisfaction, as to the facts above-mentioned, by conſulting the Britiſh empire in America, or the particular hiſtories of our plantations.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

The naval history of GREAT-BRITAIN, *during the reign of king* Charles II. *from the time of his restauration: containing a distinct account of the several expeditions against the* Algerines; *the two* Dutch *wars, and other naval transactions; the state of our foreign trade and plantations: with memoirs of all the eminent seamen who flourished in his reign.*

1660

WHEN the miseries flowing from the ruin of our old constitution, had taught the nation, that the shortest, as well as only way to peace and happiness, was to build up again what they had destroyed; the seamen shewed a greater readiness than any other sort of men to execute this salutary design, and without waiting for any further orders than those which came from their officers, chearfully carried the fleet over to the *Dutch* coast; where, after giving new names to the ships, they received his majesty, the duke of *York*, and other persons of principal quality, who had attended him on board the 23d of *May* 1660, and safely landed them in *Kent* [a]. For this service, Mr. *Montague* was created

[a] See the close of the earl of Clarendon's history, Heath's chronicle, p. 450. But the best account is in the earl of Sandwich's journal, a M. S. in the hands of the hon. Edward Wortley Montague, Esq. See also Sir William Lower's account of this short voyage.

created earl of *Sandwich*, had a garter, and was appointed vice-admiral of *England*, under his royal highneſs the duke of *York*. Sir *John Lawſon*, Sir *Richard Stayner*, and other officers, received the honour of knighthood, and the king was pleaſed to promiſe the ſeamen in general, a particular ſhare in his favour and eſteem [b].

In the beginning of this prince's adminiſtration, he certainly ſhewed a great attention to the public intereſt, and as he had good natural abilities, and was inclined to look into naval affairs, ſo for ſome time he kept a ſtrict eye on whatever related to the fleet, of which many inſtances occur in the memoirs of ſeveral of its principal officers. In *September* 1660, the earl of *Sandwich* went with a ſquadron of nine men of war to *Helvoetſluys*, to bring over the king's ſiſter, the princeſs of *Orange*, who not long after died in *England*. Upon this occaſion, he received great honours in *Holland*; and it is conceived, that the affection which the people ſhewed for the young prince of *Orange* (afterwards king *William*) and for the *Engliſh* on his account, gave ſome jealouſy to the ſtates, or at leaſt to ſuch as had the principal direction of affairs, which was encreaſed by a memorial preſented by the princeſs at her departure; recommending her ſon to their care, and deſiring they would now declare their intentions of conferring upon him the charges and dignities which his anceſtors had enjoyed. On the 24th of the ſame month the fleet returned, and his majeſty and the duke of *York*, going on board the admiral's ſhip, named *The Reſolution*, lay there that night, and reviewed and examined the ſquadron next morning [c].

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[b] Kennett's compleat hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 241. Heath's chronicle, p. 451. Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. [c] Earl of Sandwich's journal, Heath's chronicle, p. 470. Kennet's chronicle,

A TREATY of marriage having been concluded between his majeſty and the *Infanta* of *Portugal*, with whom he was to receive a portion of 300,000*l.* the iſland of *Bombay* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the city of *Tangier* in *Africa*; it became neceſſary to ſend a fleet to bring over the queen, and to ſecure the laſt mentioned city againſt any attempt from the *Moors*. For this purpoſe, the earl of *Sandwich* was again ſent with a numerous fleet, which ſailed on the 19th of *June* 1661 from the *Downs*, after having been firſt viſited by the duke of *York* [d]. His lordſhip ſailed firſt to *Liſbon*, and from thence to *Tangier*, which place was put into the hands of the *Engliſh* on the 30th of *January* 1662, when the earl of *Peterborough* marched into it with an *Engliſh* garriſon, and had the keys delivered to him by the *Portugueze* governor [e]. The admiral then returned to *Liſbon*, where he received the queen's portion, conſiſting in money, in jewels, ſugars, and other commodities, and in bills of exchange, and then ſailed with her majeſty for *England*, and arrived at *Spithead* the 14th of *May* 1662 [f].

THERE was certainly no occaſion for ſo large a fleet, merely to bring over the queen; but as it afforded a fair pretence for ſending ſuch a force into the *Mediterranean*, this opportunity was taken to execute things of greater moment. The *Algerines*, and other pyratical ſtates of *Barbary*, taking advantage of our confuſions, had broke the peace they made with admiral *Blake*, and began to take *Engliſh* ſhips, with as little ceremony as they did the *Dutch* and *French*. To remedy this, the earl of *Sandwich*, with his

[d] Heath's chronicle, p. 500. Lord Sandwich's journal. [e] Kennet's chronicle, p. 617. [f] Lord Sandwich's journal, Heath's chronicle, Kennet's compleat hiſtory.

his fleet, came before *Algiers* the 29th of *July* 1661, and ſent captain *Spragge* with the king's letter to the principal perſon in the government, and a letter of his own, with orders alſo to bring off Mr. *Brown* the Conſul; which was accordingly done. That evening a council of war was held, and the next morning certain propoſitions were made to the regency by captain *Spragge* and conſul *Brown*. About eleven o'clock theſe gentlemen returned on board the admiral, with an anſwer, that the government of *Algiers* would conſent to no peace, whereby they were deprived of their right of ſearching our ſhips, (it ſeems, the ſame humour is now blown over to the other coaſt). In the mean time, to ſhew they were in earneſt, they wrought very hard at a boom, which, with much ado, they brought over from the mole-head, to the oppoſite corner of their port; that by the help of this, and many other new works which they had raiſed, they might be able to defend themſelves from any attempts that could be made by ſea. The earl of *Sandwich*, however, reſolved to make a bold trial to burn the ſhips in the harbour; but the wind prevented him: ſo that after a good deal of firing on both ſides, wherein more hurt was done to the city than the ſhips, the admiral thought fit to ſail for *Liſbon* [z] on the firſt of *Auguſt*, leaving Sir *John Lawſon*, with a ſtrong ſquadron to protect the *Engliſh* trade, and harraſs the enemy; which he performed with ſuch ſucceſs, that after taking many of their ſhips, he, by degrees, forced all theſe pyratical ſtates to conclude a peace with *Great Britain*, without any reſervation as to their favourite article of ſearching our ſhips; though

[z] Heath's chronicle, p. 500. But moſt of the facts above-mentioned are taken from the earl of Sandwich's journal.

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though it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Algerines*, retaining ſtill a ſtrong opinion of the ſtrength of their fortifications, did not keep it long, but returned to their old practices; which obliged the government here, to ſend freſh orders to Sir *John Lawſon*, to employ force in bringing them to reaſon [h].

We are now to enter upon a more ſerious affair than any that had claimed the care the *Engliſh* court. On his firſt return to the throne of his anceſtors, king *Charles* and his miniſters had certainly ſhewn a great concern for the true intereſt of the nation, as will appear to any attentive reader of our hiſtory, who obſerves the advantages we gained by the treaties of commerce which he concluded with *Spain* and *Holland*. By the former he ſecured the poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, though it had been acquired by *Cromwell*, and thereby obtained ſome ſort of ſatisfaction for the injury intended him a little before his reſtauration, when it is certain that the *Spaniards* would have ſecured his perſon, if he had not prevented them by an unexpected retreat out of their dominions to *Breda*. He alſo reſtored to the nation the advantages they drew from the *Spaniſh* trade; and the affection of this people to the *Engliſh*, preferable to any other nation appeared in this, that they immediately fell out with the *Dutch*, and even forbad their ſhips of war to enter their ports, as the *Dutch* writers themſelves tell us [i]. The treaty with *Holland* carried things alſo to a great height; for it not only ſecured the reſpect due to the flag, but likewiſe procured ſome other conceſſions very honourable for the nation, and the iſland

[h] Kennet's compleat hiſtory, Burchet, Lediard, &c. [i] See Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. Echard, Welwood; but eſpecially, the treaty itſelf in the collection before mentioned.

iſland of *Poleron* for the *Eaſt-India* company. His majeſty had alſo an intention to have ſecured the fiſhery on the *Britiſh* coaſt to his own ſubjects: but before that could be effectually done the war broke out; for the true grounds of which it is not eaſy to account, and yet without accounting for them, books of this nature can be but of little value[k].

THE *Dutch* began early to conceive prejudices againſt the king's government, and in reality to apprehend our becoming their ſuperiors in trade, in which we were every day increaſing. Theſe ſentiments engaged them, and eſpecially their *Eaſt* and *Weſt-India* companies, which then carried on the greateſt part of their commerce, to take various ſteps in thoſe parts of the world where their power prevailed, to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* trade. The *Eaſt-India* company particularly delayed the liquidation of the damages the *Engliſh* were to receive; refuſed to deliver up the iſland before-mentioned, and pretended to preſcribe the places where, and the terms on which the *Engliſh* ſhould trade in the *India*. The other company trod exactly in their ſteps, and proceeded ſo far as to get cape *Corſe*-caſtle into their hands, which belonged to the *Engliſh* company[l] trading to *Africa*.

THE duke of *York*, who was governor of the *African* company, being informed of this, ſent ſir *Robert Holmes* with four frigates, to the coaſt of *Guinea*, in order to make repriſals. This was in 1661; and ſir *Robert*, in conſequence

[k] See Kennet, Welwood, Echard, Rapin; but eſpecially the treaty. See ſir George Downing's memorial, and lord Arlington's letters. [l] Columna Roſtrata, p. 152. See king Charles II. letter to the ſtates general, on the cauſes of this war, and Baſnage annales de provinces unies, vol. i. p. 682, 683.

ſequence of this commiſſion, ſummoned the *Dutch* to ſurrender cape *Verd*, to the company, within a limited time; yet offered them the liberty to continue their trade there as before. He then proceeded to a ſmall fort, poſſeſſed by the *Dutch*, who, firing their cannon to prevent the landing of the *Engliſh*, were obliged to ſurrender, and the fort received the name of *James-Fort*, in honour of the duke. From thence, proceeding to the river *Gambia*, he diſlodged the *Hollanders*, and built a new fort.

The *Hollanders* ſtill refuſing to deliver cape *Corſe*, ſir *Robert* was ſent a ſecond time, *Anno* 1663, with a ſmall ſquadron to take it by force. But ſearching a *Dutch* ſhip by the way, he found orders (as king *Charles* informs the ſtates in his letter, *October* 4, 1666) from the *Dutch Weſt-India* company to their governor, general *Valkenburg*, to ſeize the *Engliſh* fort at *Cormantin*; which diſcovery diſpoſed him to go beyond his commiſſion.

In the latter end of the month of *January*, 1664, ſir *Robert Holmes* arrived with his ſquadron at cape *Verde*. This cape is part of the main land of *Africa*, and lies on the weſt ſide of the kingdom of *Jaloffi*, and to the *N. W.* of the river *Gambia*, in the 15th degree of *N. L.* about a cannon-ſhot from thence, lies the iſland *Goeree*, whereon were two forts. The lower fort was furniſhed with about twenty pieces of cannon, and the upper with eight: The former was called fort-*Naſſau*, the later fort-*Orange*. Sir *Robert* firſt ſummoned theſe two forts of the iſland *Goeree*; which, becauſe the governor refuſed to ſurrender, he attacked, and took the next day, together with a ſhip called, the *Crocodile*, lying under their protection; after having, the evening before, taken two other *Dutch* ſhips, called, the *Viſch-korf*, and the *Viſcher*. In the forts, he found a great quantity of goods ready to be ſhipped off for *Holland*, and among

among the reſt, twenty thouſand hides. Theſe he loaded on his own and the *Dutch* ſhips, and tranſported them to *Sierra Leone* [m].

He next proceeded to attack St. *George del Mina*, the chief of all the *Dutch* forts; but though himſelf and his ſeamen acted with great bravery, yet the deſign miſcarried, and he was obliged to ſheer off with ſome loſs. To repair this misfortune, he reſolved to attack cape *Corſe* caſtle, which, though it was ſo ſtrong by ſituation, that one hundred men might have kept it againſt a thouſand; yet he ſoon took it, and ſome other places; after which, he ſailed from the coaſt of *Guinea* to north *America*, where he reduced a *Dutch* ſettlement, called the *New-Netherlands* in the month of *Auguſt*, 1664, changing the name into that of *New-York*, in honour of the duke. Yet this was not done merely by way of repriſal, but partly by virtue of a claim of right. For the *New-Netherlands* being firſt diſcovered by the *Engliſh*, under the conduct of *Sebaſtian Cabot* (who took poſſeſſion of all that northern coaſt in the name of king *Henry* VII. of *England*) had been always deemed a part of the *Engliſh American* dominions, till the year 1637, when it was firſt ſeized and planted by the *Dutch* [n].

These proceedings were hitherto of a private nature. The injuries done to the *Engliſh* were done by the *Dutch Weſt-India* company; the reprizals made by the *Engliſh*, were under the charter of the *African* company; the crown had neither fitted out ſir *Robert*

[m] Columna Roſtrata, p. 153. Account of captain Holmes's proceedings on the coaſt of Africa. Heath's chronicle continued by Philips, p. 535. [n] Britiſh empire in America, vol. i. p. 237.

Holmes, or given any commiſſion *. But when the news of what he had done reached *Holland*, the *de Wit* faction, who then carried all before them, reſolved inſtantly to fall upon the *Engliſh* in thoſe parts, with a great fleet, and this without any declaration of war, or even intimation of their deſign to repair themſelves in damages for what *Holmes* had taken from them. The difficulty lay, in getting a fleet ſafely into thoſe ſeas, before the deſign could be known in *England*, and the project formed by them, as it was very ſubtile and fraudulent, ſo it was executed with equal cunning and ſucceſs. Admiral *de Ruyter*, was at that time in the *Mediterranean*, where he had orders either to make a peace with, or to defend their merchants from the inſults of, the pyratical ſtates; to which end, as we before obſerved, ſir *John Lawſon* was alſo there with a ſquadron of *Engliſh* ſhips, and the ſtates requeſted of king *Charles*, that theſe admirals might act in conjunction. Yet now it was thought convenient to remove *de Ruyter* from thence, and to ſend him to commit hoſtilities on the coaſt of *Guinea*, and in the *Weſt-Indies*. To this, he was well enough inclined, from a difference that had happened between him and ſir *John Lawſon*, about the ſalute at ſea, which the *Dutch* admiral paid, and ſir *John* refuſed to return, alledging that his orders did not allow him to ſtrike to the ſubjects of any king or ſtate whatever. In other

* So far from it, that the king confined Holmes when he returned, and did not diſcharge him, till he made it evidently appear, that he had not infringed the law of nations. Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 533. Nay de Neuville, ſays expreſsly, that the king made this war that he might accommodate himſelf to the diſpoſition of his parliament and people. Hiſtoire de Holland, vol. iii. p. 242.

other reſpects, he aſſiſted the *Dutch* as friends and allies as much as was in his power.

THE majority of the ſtates were not for a war with *England*, and conſequently ſuch orders as the miniſters wanted, to authorize *de Ruyter*, were not to be had in a fair and open way; yet, rather than not have them, the *Louveſtein* faction reſolved to ſacrifice their conſtitution. *De Ruyter* had ſent home an account of his proceedings againſt the pyrates: they got this report referred to a committee of ſeven; and this committee drew up an order, directing the admiral to ſail to the coaſt of *Guinea*, there to make repriſals upon the *Engliſh*. But, as this order muſt be read to and approved by the ſtates, the miniſters took care to draw it up in looſe and equivocal terms, procuring alſo the ſecretary to read it in ſuch a hurry, as rendered it altogether unintelligible: then they thruſt it among ſome orders of courſe, and engaging ſuch as they thought would be againſt it, in private converſation, it was read without being attended to. Laſtly, it was brought with a bundle of papers chiefly of form, to be ſigned by the preſident for the week, who, as uſual, ſet his hand without reading. This is a true ſtate of the fact, as reported by the *Dutch* hiſtorians [p].

WHEN *de Ruyter* received this order, he did not communicate it to his officers; but having firſt got ſuch a ſupply of proviſions as he thought might be neceſſary, pretended then to have information of certain pyrates cruiſing near the *Canaries*, and under colour of giving chaſe to theſe, he ſo far executed his commiſſion, as to oblige the governor for the *African* company, either to ſurrender,

p. Baſnage annales de provinces unies, p. 714.

or demoliſh ſeveral of their forts. He likewiſe ſeized a great quantity of goods belonging to that company. After which he made himſelf maſter of fort *Cormantin*, a place which was built by and had always been in the poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. But cape *Corſe*, and *Chama* (two of the places taken by ſir *Robert Holmes*) remained unreduced. From the coaſt of *Guinea*, *de Ruyter* ſailed to *Barbadoes*, where he attacked a conſiderable fleet of merchant-ſhips, lying under protection of the forts, but was repulſed with great loſs. Then paſſing over to *Monſerat*, *Nevis*, and *Newfoundland*, he took above twenty ſail of *Engliſh* ſhips, and ſo returned to *Holland*[q].

THESE actions on both ſides ſerved to exaſperate the two nations, and to haſten the preparations for war; which was proclaimed by the *Dutch* in *January*, and by the *Engliſh* in *February*, 1665. But before it came to that, the *Heer Van Goth* was ſent by the ſtates to importune the king with memorials and complaints. To which the kings anſwer was, that he had received no particular information of the affair of *Guinea*; and that the two companies muſt decide the diſpute. Theſe complaints of the ambaſſadors being likewiſe retaliated by the *Engliſh* merchants, whoſe inceſſant repreſentations of their wrongs obliged the king to repeat his demands of ſatisfaction, as the conſtant refuſal of the ſatisfaction demanded, was the cauſe of the open rupture[r].

SEVERAL writers who have cenſured king *Charles*'s government, would have us believe, that this war was of his majeſty's procuring: whereas nothing can be more certain than that he was engaged in it by advice of parliament,

[q] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, Baſnage, de Neuville.
[r] Columna Roſtrata, p. 156, 157.

ment, and the clamours of the people. The houſe of commons told him in one of their repreſentations, that the *Dutch* had injured his ſubjects to the amount of eight hundred thouſand pounds. The king promiſed to take care of the merchants, and of the nation; and when he found a war neceſſary, and deſired the city of *London* to lend him one hundred thouſand pounds, they did it very readily, and even repeated the favour as readily, when the king condeſcended to ſhew them that the firſt loan was not ſufficient to fit out the fleet. Theſe are demonſtrative proofs, that this was not a court-war, but a popular one. Yet it muſt be allowed, that it was chiefly brought about by the artifices of *France*, the emiſſaries of that crown inſtigating the *Dutch* to do all they did, and at the ſame time, omitting no opportunity of inflaming us againſt them. Their deſign was plainly to engage the maritime powers in a cruel war, that they might weaken and waſte each others ſtrength, and ſo be leſs able to oppoſe the deſigns of the *French* miniſtry; one of which was, to render *France* a maritime power*.

THE firſt action of conſequence that happened after the war broke out, was the attacking a *Dutch* fleet richly laden from *Smyrna* near *Cadiz*. It conſiſted of forty merchant-ſhips, ſome of them very large, and well-provided with ordnance, and their convoy was four third-rate men of war. Sir *Thomas Allen*, who commanded the *Engliſh* ſquadron, had with him about nine ſhips (his own narrative ſays but eight). With theſe he attacked the enemy ſo ſucceſsfully, that having killed their commodore *Brackel*, and taken or ſunk four of their richeſt ſhips, he drove

* Journals of the houſe of commons, Baſnage, de Nouville, Philips, Kennet, Echard.

the reſt into the bay of *Cadiz*, where for ſome time he blocked them up. A misfortune of the ſame kind befel the *Dutch Bourdeaux* fleet, of which about one hundred and thirty ſhips were taken. Some of theſe, however, appearing to be *French* bottoms, were diſcharged; but the far greater part were declared good prize[t]. Theſe misfortunes obliged the *Dutch*, contrary to their inclinations and indeed to their uſual practice, to lay an immediate embargo on all veſſels in their port, whereby the fiſheries, and all the annual commerce, were ſtopped for that ſea-ſeaſon. They likewiſe ſettled a fund of fourteen millions of guilders for the ſupport of the war; and in order to ſhew that there ought to be ſome difference between wars made by trading nations, and thoſe entered into by arbitrary princes, for the mere thirſt of dominion; they ordered about fifty *Engliſh* and *Scotch* veſſels, which had been ſeized in their harbours, to be ſet at liberty; and on their arrival in *England*, the civility was returned by a like releaſe of all the *Dutch* ſhips ſtopped here[u].

The *Engliſh* Fleet was firſt ready, though the *Dutch* began firſt to arm. It conſiſted of one hundred and fourteen ſail of men of war and frigates, twenty-eight fire ſhips and ketches, and had about twenty-two thouſand ſeamen and ſoldiers on board. The whole was commanded by the duke of *York*, as lord high-admiral, prince *Rupert* was admiral of the white, and the earl of *Sandwich* of the blue. *April* 21, 1665. the *Engliſh* ſailed for the *Dutch* coaſt, and on the 28th, ſent in a ſquadron ſo near the ſhore and harbour of the *Texel*, that the country was exceedingly alarmed. After remaining there a month, the

[t] Kennet's compleat hiſtory, Echard, Rapin. [u] Baſnage de Neuville, Leven van de Wit, p. 252.

the fleet [redacted] was ſo ruffled by a ſtorm, that it was found neceſſary to retire towards our own ſhore. This opportunity the *Dutch* took of ſending out their fleet, which by the latter end of *May*, appeared about the *Dogger Sands*. They were divided into ſeven ſquadrons, the firſt under *Opdam*, conſiſting of fourteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips; the ſecond under *John Everts*, of the like force; the third commanded by admiral *Cortenaer*, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and one fire-ſhip; the fourth was under *Stillingwert*, compoſed likewiſe of fourteen men of war and a fire-ſhip; the fifth conducted by *Tromp*, the ſon of the famous old admiral, made up of ſixteen men of war and two fire-ſhips; the ſixth under *Cornelius Everts*, conſiſting of fourteen men of war and a fire-ſhip; the laſt commanded by *Schram*, in which were ſixteen men of war, and two fire-ſhips, in all a hundred and three men of war, eleven fire-ſhips, and ſeven Yachts. A mighty fleet! far ſuperior to what the *French* conceived it poſſible for the *States* to fit out, and well furniſhed with men; but by the help of their *India*-ſhips, whence they were moſtly taken, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by force[z]. The duke of *York* being retired from the *Dutch* coaſt, when they came out, afforded an opportunity for them to fall on our *Hamburgh* fleet, which they did not neglect, and they were ſo fortunate therein as to take the greateſt part, whereby we ſuffered near two hundred thouſand pounds. Some attributed this to ill management, others with more reaſon, to accidents; for they had a convoy, and the duke of *York* ſent the *Roe-Ketch* to inform them of his departure, which not meeting this fleet proved

[z] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 740 Hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 248. Levan van de Wit, p. 252.

I

proved their ruin [a]. This exasperated the *English*, and at the same time raised the spirits of the *Dutch*.

ADMIRAL *Opdam*, who commanded the latter, was a very prudent as well as gallant commander. The great *John de Wit* raised him to this envied employment; but finding him inclined to the prince of *Orange*, he became his enemy, and as soon as he was out at sea wrote him a letter, directing him to fight at all events, and this with a peculiar quickness of stile, which proved the letter his, though it was written in the name of the *states*. *Opdam* resolved to obey, though contrary to the advice of most of his officers, and his own opinion, as appeared by his sending ashore his plate before the engagement. *I am*, said he, on hearing the judgment of a council of war, *entirely in your sentiments; but here are my orders. To-morrow my head shall be bound with laurel or with cypress*: and in this disposition he sailed to find out the *English* navy [b]. That did not require much time; for the duke of *York* was now eager to revenge the loss of the *Hamburgh* fleet. On the third of *June* the *English* and *Dutch* navies engaged about three in the morning off *Leostoff*, when by an oversight of the *Dutch* (as their writers say) the *English* had the weather-gage, an advantage they knew how to use as well as keep [c].

THINGS went at first very equally on both sides, charging through and through, without any remarkable advantage. But about noon, the earl of *Sandwich* with the blue squadron, fell into the center of the *Dutch* fleet, divided it into two parts, and began that confusion which ended

[a] Philips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, Kennet, Echard, Rapin. [b] Basnage Annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 741. [c] Columna Rostrata, p. 160. Basnage, de Neuville.

ended in a total defeat [d]. The duke of *York* in the *Royal Charles*, a ship of eighty guns, and admiral *Opdam* in the *Eendracht*, of eighty-four, were closely engaged. The fight continued for some hours with great obstinacy, and his royal highness was in the utmost danger. Several persons of distinction were killed on board his ship, particularly the earl of *Falmouth*, the king's favourite, lord *Muskerry*, and Mr. *Boyle*, son to the earl of *Cork*, with one ball; and so near the duke, that he was covered with their blood and brains: nay, a splinter from the last-mentioned gentleman's skull razed his hand [e]. About one, the *Dutch* admiral blew up with a prodigious noise; but how the accident happened is uncertain. Some say, a shot fell in the powder-room; others, that *Opdam*'s black blew up the ship to be revenged of his master for beating him. The most probable account is, that it was occasioned by some in distributing the powder [f]. In this vessel, together with the *Admiral*, perished five hundred men, only five of the whole crew escaping; many of them voluntiers, of the best families of *Holland*, and not a few *Frenchmen*, who took this opportunity of being present in a sea-fight [g].

A little after this unlucky blow, the *Dutch* received a still greater. Four fine ships, the biggest of sixty, the least of forty guns, ran foul on each other, and were burnt by one fire-ship: soon after, three larger vessels by the same accident shared the same fate. The *Orange*, a ship of seventy-five guns, after a most gallant defence was also burnt; and thus, towards four in the afternoon, all fell into

[d] Earl of Sandwich's journal. MS. [e] Basnage Annales des provinces Unies, vol i. p. 742. Kennet, Echard, Rapin. [f] Basnage, de Neuville, Leven Van Tromp. [g] History of the three Dutch wars, p. 390.

into confuſion. Vice-admiral *Stillingwert* was ſhot through the middle by a cannon-ball; vice-admiral *Cortenaar* received a ſhot in his thigh, of which he inſtanrly died. Theſe ſhips bearing out of the line on the death of their commanders, without ſtriking their flags, drew many after them; ſo that, by eight at night, *Tromp*, who held out bravely to the laſt, and fought retreating, had not above thirty ſhips left with him. This was the moſt ſignal victory the *Engliſh* ever gained, and the ſevereſt blow the *Dutch* ever felt at ſea[h]. According to our accounts, which upon a ſtrict examination I have always found moderate, the *Dutch* had eighteen ſhips taken (ſeveral of which we quitted) and fourteen ſunk in this action, beſides ſuch as were burnt or blown up. Yet their accounts admit of no more than nine ſhips taken, one (their Admiral) blown up, and eight burnt[i]. As to our loſs, which was far more unaccountable, there is no diſpute about it. We loſt the *Charity*, a ſhip of forty-ſix guns, with moſt of her men, in the beginning of the fight; had in the whole but two hundred and fifty men killed, and three hundred and forty wounded: on the other ſide, they loſt at leaſt ſix thouſand men, including two thouſand three hundred taken priſoners[k]. Yet ſome great men of ours bought this advantage to their country at the expence of their blood, ſuch as the earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, vice-admiral *Sampſon*, and ſir *John Lawſon*, who died of a wound he received in the knee, though he ſurvived the battle.

THE

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[h] Kennet, Echard, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville, &c. [i] Philip's Chronicle, lord chancellor's ſpeech to the parliament, Kennet, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp. [k] Burchet, Columna Roſtrata.

THE *Dutch* aſcribe this defeat in a great meaſure to the ill conduct of their own officers, and ſeamen, many of whom were ſeverely puniſhed. Thus much is allowed on all ſides, that, except ſixteen or ſeventeen of their captains who had ſerved in the former war, they had none of tolerable knowledge, or true courage, moſt of them being the ſons of rich burgo-maſters, brought in, to ſecure their father's intereſts by *de Wit*; who, though he thus incapacitated them for fighting, yet compelled them againſt reaſon, and their own opinion to fight; becauſe at all events, a battle was for his intereſt; ſince, gained, it raiſed his authority at home; or, loſt, it muſt bring in his allies the *French* from abroad. This refined policy had well nigh ruined himſelf and his friends; for the mob roſe, and threatened nothing leſs than a total revolution. At the *Brill*, admiral *Evertz* was thrown into the river, and with much difficulty reſcued by the magiſtrates from the populace: and ſuch like tumults happened at *Rotterdam*, and elſewhere [l]. On the ſide of the *Engliſh* too, there was ſome miſmanagement, otherwiſe this had been the laſt battle with the *Dutch*: but ſo it was, that, content with the victory, we neglected the purſuit. The friends of the duke of *York* ſay, this was owing to high winds on ſhore, and our fire-ſhips being all ſpent. Others alledge, that his royal highneſs falling aſleep after the fatigue of the day, one captain *Brounker*, who was about his perſon, gave orders that the admiral ſhould ſlack ſail; an act equally dangerous to the nation's intereſt, and the duke's glory [m].

HIS

[l] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 743. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips's Chronicle. [m] Echard, Rapin, Coke's Detection, Denham's Satyrs, Secret hiſtory of Charles II. and James II.

His royal highneſs left the fleet ſoon after, and returned to *London*, to make a report of all things to the king: His majeſty having attended his mother to the coaſts, went on board the *Royal Charles* in the river, where he made a ſtrict inquiry into the conduct of the officers, and the ſtate of their ſhips; and receiving ſatisfaction as to both, he there, as an encouragement to a like behaviour in time to come, knighted the moſt conſiderable commanders, *viz.* admiral *Tyddiman*, captain *Cuttings*, captain *Jordan*, captain *Sprague*, &c. after which, he directed that all the ſhips ſhould be repaired with the utmoſt diligence, and the fleet as ſoon as poſſible, be put into a condition to go out again to ſea [a]. The king's command, their ſenſe of their late victory, and the news of two rich *Dutch* ſquadrons being at ſea, quickly brought out the *Engliſh* navy, to the number of ſixty ſail; and on the fifth of *July*, they ſteered from *Southwold* bay, into which they put immediately after the laſt engagement, for the coaſt of *Holland*. The ſtandard was borne by the gallant earl of *Sandwich*, to whom was vice-admiral ſir *George Ayſcue* and ſir *Thomas Tyddiman*, rear-admiral. Sir *William Penn* was admiral of the white, ſir *William Berkley* vice-admiral, and ſir *Joſeph Jordan* rear-admiral. The blue flag was carried by ſir *Thomas Allen*, whoſe vice and rear were ſir *Chriſtopher Mimms* and ſir *John Harman*. The deſign they went on, was to intercept *de Ruyter* in his return, or at leaſt, to take and burn the *Turkey* and *Eaſt-India* fleets, of which they had certain intelligence [b].

THEY

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[a] Phillip's Chronicle, Kennet, Earl of Sandwich's Journal.
[b] Baſnage, le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp.

THEY ſucceeded in neither of theſe ſchemes. *De Ruyter* returned unexpectedly by the north of *Scotland*, and arrived ſafely in *Holland*, where he was immediately promoted to the chief command of the fleet [p]. The *Turkey* and *India* fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſail, under the command of commodore *Bitter*, choſe to take the ſame northern route, in hopes of avoiding the *Engliſh* navy; but having intelligence at ſea, that this would prove very difficult, if not impoſſible, they took ſhelter in the port of *Bergben* in *Norway* [q]. The port was pretty eaſy of acceſs, and covered only by an old caſtle; the *Daniſh* governor indeed, promiſed the *Dutch* to do for them what he could, and they were willing to contribute as much as in them lay to render him able. In order to this, they landed forty-one pieces of cannon, which were diſpoſed on a line before the fort: then the *Dutch* drew another line croſs the bay, conſiſting of their largeſt ſhips; and in this poſture they waited for the *Engliſh*. It was not long before they appeared; for the earl of *Sandwich*, having advice of their being put into *Bergben*, had detached ſir *Thomas Tyddiman* with fourteen ſail of men of war, and three fire-ſhips to attack them. This he performed with great courage, though the wind was againſt them, and the enemy made a prodigious fire upon the caſtle, the line, and the ſhips; ſo that at laſt he was forced to bear out of the bay, and this he performed without the loſs of a ſhip, though he had five or ſix very ill treated [r].

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[p] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 744, 745. Le Clere, de Neuville. [q] Kennet, Echard, Burcnet, Rapin.

[r] In order to come as near the truth as poſſible, I have compared the Dutch Commodore's letter with one wrote by the earl of Arlington, Secretary of State.

THE ſtates by this time, partly by threats, partly by puniſhment, but more by promiſes and rewards, had again manned out a ſtout fleet. Admiral *de Ruyter* had the command of it, which gave no ſmall diſpleaſure to *Tromp*; but he grew into a better temper, when he perceived that his competitor had the command only in ſhew [s]. The great ſtateſman *de Wit*, not ſatisfied with directing all things in the *Dutch* council, reſolved alſo to direct their fleets; to which end he got himſelf, and two other deputies, appointed to attend the admiral. A ſtep oppoſed by all his friends, and contrary to the ſentiments of the *French* king, who was afraid, if by any accident he loſt M. *de Wit*, he ſhould not find the ſtates ſo tractable as they had been for ſome years paſt [t]. The penſionary, however, perſiſted in his deſign, and gained a very great reputation in his new character, even before the fleet put to ſea; and, though I cannot ſay that this relates to *Engliſh* hiſtory, yet, as it has a near relation to naval affairs, I hope the reader will not be diſpleaſed at my telling him, how *de Wit* acquired this reputation. When he came on board the fleet in the *Texel*, the pilots, captains, and admirals, were unanimouſly of opinion, that they muſt wait for a fair wind in order to get out, though there were two paſſages. As to the larger, they ſaid, that two and twenty winds might abſolutely hinder a fleet from ſailing thorought it; and that in reſpect to the latter, it was too ſhallow for large ſhips to paſs. M. *de Wit*, who was no ſeaman, enquired into the reaſon why ſo many winds ſhould keep them in, and the next morning demonſtrated

[s] De Neuville, Le Clerc, Leven Van Tromp. [t] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 745.

monſtrated to the pilots upon their own principles, that winds blowing, but from four of theſe points, could produce this effect; which experience has ſince juſtified. Yet the wind being at that time in one of theſe four points, *de Wit* went the ſame day and examined the *Spaniſh* paſſage with a lead, and having done this, he and Mr. *Van Haaren*, who accompanied him, undertook with the next tide, to carry out the two largeſt ſhips in the fleet, which they performed very ſafely, and the reſt followed the next day; and ever ſince this has been called *de Wit's Paſſage* [u].

THE point he had principally in view was, to bring off the *Eaſt-India* fleet from *Berghen*, which was a very difficult thing, conſidering the *Engliſh* fleet was then at ſea. He found means, however, to paſs by them, and arrived ſafely before *Berghen*, where the *Dutch* had found a new enemy in their old defender. The *Daniſh* governor modeſtly deſired a hundred thouſand crowns for the aſſiſtance he had given them in the late affair, and threatned to ſink them if they offered to ſtir out of the port before they had complied with his demand. The arrival of the fleet made him change his language: he was content they ſhould ſail then without paying the money; but he kept the cannon they had put aſhore [w]. Thus far *de Wit* was ſucceſsful; but in his return home, the fleet was ſcattered by a ſtorm, which ſunk two fire-ſhips, and ſome of the merchant-men. The vice-admiral, and rear-admiral of the *Eaſt-India* fleet, ſhips of very great value, with four men of war, were taken by five *Engliſh* frigates,

[u] Wiquefort Hiſtoire des provinces unies, M. S. B. xv. The Dutch term in the maps was Spanjards Gat, now they call it, Heer de Wits diep.

[w] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 747.

which the ſame ſtorm had ſeperated from our fleet; and ſoon after, four men of war, two fire-ſhips, and thirty merchant-men, joined our fleet inſtead of their own, and ſo were all taken; which ended the operations of this year [x].

THE *French* perceiving that the ſcales were no longer even, but that the *Dutch* would certainly be deſtroyed if left to themſelves; or, which they more apprehended, would be forced to make ſuch a peace as we ſhould preſcribe, reſolved to declare in their favour. It may not be amiſs, in order to ſhew what ſort of an enemy this court has always been, to obſerve, that immediately upon this declaration, ſhe began to cabal with our republicans, and actually endeavoured to draw general *Ludlow* from his retreat, that ſhe might ſend him over to head their friends, as they now called them, on this ſide the water. By the perſuaſion of *France*, the king of *Denmark*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, declared alſo for the *Dutch*; but the former was well paid for it, ſince the ſtates forgave him a debt of ſix millions of guilders, and undertook to pay him an annual ſubſidy of one million and a half more ſo long as the war ſhould laſt [y]. It quickly appeared, that *France*, by taking this meaſure, meant to make herſelf at once a maritime power; for having promiſed to aſſiſt the *Dutch* with a fleet of ſix and thirty men of war, they were thus made up. Twelve were built by *Dutch* carpenters, in the *Dutch* docks; twelve more were made out of large *India* men, bought in the ſame country, and the other twelve were either built or bought in the ports of

[x] Philips, Kennet, Burchet.

[y] Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 549.

of *Denmark*. When all this was done, the *French* were for ſetting on foot a negotiation; but king *Charles* being then in the true intereſt of his ſubjects, was very deaf on that ear. He ſaid, the *Dutch* had injured *England* to the amount of two millions; and if they thought fit to pay ſo much money, he was willing to grant them a peace without any mediation at all. Nay, the king carried it ſtill farther; for in caſe he made a peace with the *Dutch*, he declared their allies ſhould be left out of it; which, conſidering the ſtrength of the confederacy, and that the plague then raged in *England*, ſeems to prove, that this prince did not want ſpirit enough, when his good ſenſe told him he was engaged in a right cauſe; for at that time, we had no ally, but the biſhop of *Munſter*, who, though he gave the *Dutch* a great deal of trouble, yet did it entirely at our expence [z].

THE next year opened with a new ſcene; the king recalled lord *Holles* from the *French* court, and ſent the earl of *Sandwich* to *Spain*, as his ambaſſador: two of the wiſeſt ſteps in his whole reign; for, by the firſt, he broke entirely with that perfidious court, and in conſequence of the ſecond, he concluded the moſt beneficial treaty of commerce, that was ever made for this nation [a]. As to naval affairs, it was reſolved, that the fleet ſhould be commanded by prince *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*; the former to look after the *French*, who began now to talk very high, and the latter to act againſt the *Dutch* [b].

BEFORE we ſpeak of the conſequences of theſe great undertakings, it may not be amiſs to take notice of an accident

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[z] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 279. [a] Columna roſtrata, p. 167. Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, Rapin, Echard, &c. [b] Kennet, Burchet, Rapin.

cident which happened at *Liſbon*, becauſe it ſhews the ſpirit of that age. There were in that port, a conſiderable number of *Engliſh* merchant-men, which were to come home under the convoy of *The Guinea*-frigate. A large *French* man of war was alſo there, and the captain daily boaſted to the *Portugueſe*, what he would do when the *Engliſh* frigate put to ſea. This coming to the ears of captain *Coite*, who commanded her, he ſent the *Frenchman* word, he would ſail the next morning, which he performed accordingly; but having hovered on the coaſts three days, in expectation of being chaſed, he returned into port, carried out his fleet of merchant-men, and brought them ſafe into the river *Thames*, the *Frenchman* continuing quiet in the harbour of *Liſbon* [c].

PRINCE *Rupert*, and the duke of *Albemarle*, went on board the fleet on the 23d of *April*, 1666, and ſailed in the beginning of *May*. Towards the latter end of that month, the court was informed, that the *French* fleet, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, were coming out to the aſſiſtance of the *Dutch*. This rumour, of their joining the *Dutch*, was ſpread by *France*, in order to deceive us, and diſtreſs the *Dutch*, themſelves in reality having no ſuch intention. Upon the receiving this news, the court ſent orders to prince *Rupert* to ſail with *the white* ſquadron to look out and fight the *French*; which command that brave prince obeyed, but found it, what many wiſe people before thought it, a meer groundleſs bravado, intended to raiſe the courage of their new allies, and thereby bring them into the greater danger [d].

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[c] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 550. [d] Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Rapin.

AT the ſame time, prince *Rupert* ſailed from the *Downs*, the *Dutch* put out to ſea, the wind at north-eaſt, and a freſh gale. This brought the *Dutch* fleet on the coaſts of *Dunkirk*, and carried his highneſs towards the *Iſle of Wight*; but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing hard, brought both the *Dutch* and the duke of *Albemarle* to an anchor. Captain *Bacon* in the *Briſtol*, firſt diſcovered the enemy, and by firing his guns, gave notice of it to the *Engliſh* fleet. Upon this, a council of war was called, wherein it was reſolved to fight the enemy, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority [c].

AFTER the departure of prince *Rupert*, the duke of *Albemarle* had with him only the red and blue ſquadrons, making about ſixty ſail: whereas the *Dutch* fleet conſiſted of ninety-one men of war, carrying four-thouſand ſeven-hundred and ſixteen guns, and twenty-two thouſand four-hundred and ſixty-two men. It was the firſt of *June* when they were diſcerned, and the duke was ſo warm for engaging, that he attacked the enemy before they had time to weigh anchor; and, as *de Ruyter* himſelf ſays in his letter, they were obliged to cut their cables; and in the ſame letter he owns, that, to the laſt, the *Engliſh* were the aggreſſors, notwithſtanding their inferiority and other diſadvantages. The *Engliſh* fleet had the weather-gage, but the wind bowed their ſhips ſo much, that they could not uſe their loweſt tire. Sir *William Berkley*'s ſquadron led the van. The duke of *Albemarle*, when he came on the coaſt of *Dunkirk*, to avoid running on a ſand, made a ſudden tack, and this brought his top-maſt by the board, which compelled him to lie bye four or five hours, till another could be

[c] Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Levens der Zeehelden, tweede deel, p. 207. Sir John Harman's account of this engagement.

ſet up. The blue ſquadron knowing nothing of this, ſailed on, fighting through the *Dutch* fleet, though they were five to one [f]. In this engagement, fell the brave Sir *William Berkley*, and his ſhip, *The Swiftſure*, a ſecond rate, was taken; ſo was *The Eſſex*, a third rate; and Sir *John Harman*, in *The Henry*, had the whole *Zealand* ſquadron to deal with. His ſhip being diſabled, the *Dutch* admiral *Evertz*, called to Sir *John*, and offered him quarter, who anſwered, *no, Sir! it is not come to that yet*; and immediately diſcharged a broad-ſide, by which *Evertz* was killed, and ſeveral of his ſhips damaged; which ſo diſcouraged their captains, that they quitted *The Henry*, and ſent three fire-ſhips to burn her. The firſt grappled on her ſtar-board quarters, and there began to raiſe ſo thick a ſmoke, that it was impoſſible to perceive where the irons were fixed. At laſt, when the ſhip began to blaze, the boatſwain of *The Henry* threw himſelf on board it, and by its own light, diſcovered and removed the grappling-irons, and in the ſame inſtant jumped on board his own ſhip. He had ſcarce done this, before another fire-ſhip was fixed on the lar-board, this did its buſineſs ſo effectually, that the ſails were quickly on fire; which frighted the chaplain and fifty men over board. Upon this, Sir *John* drew his ſword, and threatned to kill any man who ſhould attempt to provide for his own ſafety, by leaving the ſhip. This obliged them to endeavour to put out the fire, which in a ſhort time they did; but the cordage being burnt, the croſs-beam fell and broke Sir *John*'s leg, at which inſtant, the third fire-ſhip bore down; but four pieces of cannon laden with cham-

[f] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 551. Kennet, Burchet, Baſnage, de Neuville.

chain-ſhot diſabled her: ſo that, after all, Sir *John* brought his ſhip into *Harwich*, where he repaired her as well as he could, and, notwithſtanding his broken leg, put to ſea again to ſeek the *Dutch*. The battle ended on the firſt day about ten in the evening [g].

THE following night was ſpent in repairing the damage ſuffered on both ſides, and next morning the fight was renewed by the *Engliſh* with freſh vigour. Admiral *Van Tromp*, with vice-admiral *Vander Hulſt*, being on board one ſhip, raſhly engaged among the *Engliſh*, and their veſſel was in the utmoſt danger of being either taken or burnt. The *Dutch* affairs, according to their own account, were now in a deſperate condition: but admiral *de Ruyter*, at laſt diſengaged them, though not till his ſhip was diſabled, and vice-admiral *Vander Hulſt* killed. This only changed the ſcene; for *de Ruyter* was now as hard puſhed as *Tromp* had been before. However, a reinforcement arriving, preſerved him alſo; and ſo the ſecond day's fight ended earlier than the firſt [h].

THE third day, the duke of *Albemarle* found it neceſſary to retreat; and he performed it with wonderful courage and conduct. He firſt burnt three ſhips that were abſolutely diſabled: he next cauſed ſuch as were very much torn, to ſail before, and with twenty-eight men of war, that were in a pretty good condition, brought up the rear [i]. Sir *John Harman*, indeed, ſays he had but ſixteen ſhips

[g] Theſe circumſtances are taken from Sir John Harman's relation, who blames the duke's eagerneſs for fighting; and mentions his own affairs, only to ſhew how hard the Engliſh were put to it. As to the matters of fact in this account, they are confirmed by all the Dutch authors. [h] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 281. Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Baſnage, de Neuville, Leven Van Tromp. [i] Burchet, Echard, Lediard.

that were able to fight [k]. Yet, in the evening, his grace, diſcovering the white ſquadron coming to his aſſiſtance, reſolved to engage the enemy again. In joining prince *Rupert*, a very unlucky accident happened; for Sir *George Ayſcue*, who was on board *The Royal Prince*, the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip in the whole fleet, ran upon *The Galloper*; and being there in danger of burning, and out of all hopes of relief, was forced to ſurrender: and night then falling, ended this day's engagement [l].

On the 4th of *June*, the *Dutch*, who were ſtill conſiderably ſtronger than the *Engliſh*, were almoſt out of ſight; but the duke of *Albemarle*, having prevailed on the prince to follow them, about eight in the morning they engaged again, and the *Engliſh* fleet charged five times through the *Dutch*; till prince *Rupert*'s ſhip being diſabled, and that of the duke of *Albemarle* very roughly handled, about ſeven in the evening the fleets ſeparated, each ſide being willing enough to retire. In this day's engagement, fell the brave admiral *Minnes*, who having a ſhot in the neck, remained upon deck, and gave orders, keeping the blood from flowing, with his fingers, above an hour, till another ſhot pierced his throat, and put an end to his pain [m]. This was the moſt terrible battle fought in this, or perhaps in any other war, as the *Dutch* admirals themſelves ſay; and the Penſioner *de Wit*, who was no Flatterer of our nation, yet too nice a man not to diſcern, and of too great a ſpirit to conceal the truth, ſaid roundly upon this occaſion, *if the* Engliſh *were beat, their defeat did them more honour than all their former victories; their own fleet could never have been*

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[k] In his narration, an extract of which may be found in Kennet.

[l] Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin. [m] Philips's chronicle, p. 551. Columna roſtrata, Baſnage.

been brought on after the firſt day's fight, and he believed, none but theirs could; and all the Dutch *had diſcovered, was, that* Engliſhmen *might be killed, and* Engliſh *ſhips burnt; but that the* Engliſh *courage was invincible* [n]. Of this panegyric, it is hard to determine, whether it does more honour to him, or to the *Engliſh* nation.

After all, it is pretty difficult to ſay, who were victors upon the whole, or what was the loſs of the vanquiſhed. Some *Dutch* writers talk of thirty-five ſhips, and between five and ſix-thouſand men loſt by the *Engliſh*; which is more than half their fleet, and very little leſs than all their ſeamen. Their beſt hiſtorians, however, compute our loſs at ſixteen men of war, of which ten were ſunk, and ſix taken. Our writers ſay, the *Dutch* loſt fifteen men of war, twenty-one captains, and five-thouſand men: themſelves own the loſs of nine ſhips, and that there was a prodigious ſlaughter of ther ſeamen [o]. The duke of *Albemarle*, was much blamed for his raſhneſs, and great contempt of the *Dutch*. It ſeems he was of the ſame humour with *Blake*, and thought that fighting was always preferable to running away, in a nation who pretend to the dominion of the ſea; and whoever ſhall conſider the reputation we ſhall retain from the glorious ſpirits of theſe men, will ſcarce think it reaſonable to hazard his own character by attacking theirs. It is enough that we live in cooler times, when men may be heroes upon more moderate terms: let us, therefore, content ourſelves with juſtifying our own conduct, without cenſuring that of others, while, in the ſame breath, we confeſs, that it is no eaſy thing to imitate it.

The

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[n] Wicquefort, hiſtoire des provinces unies, lib. xv. MS. [o] Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, Brandt vie de Ruyter.

THE *Dutch* had the credit of appearing at ſea again before the *Engliſh*, their ſhips having in theſe engagements ſuffered leſs. They affected then to brave us on our own coaſts, and next, to go in ſearch of their *French* allies, who never meant to afford them any real aſſiſtance. It was not long before the *Engliſh* appeared. The fleet conſiſted of eighty men of war, great and ſmall, and nineteen fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons; the *Red* under prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle*, who were on board the ſame ſhip, Sir *Joſeph Jordan* vice, and Sir *Robert Holmes* rear-admiral. Sir *Thomas Allen* was admiral of the *White*, and had under him Sir *Thomas Tyddiman*, and rear-admiral *Utburt*. Sir *Jeremiah Smith* carried the *Blue* flag, and his officers were Sir *Edward Spragge* and rear-admiral *Kempthorne*. The *Dutch*, according to their own accounts, had eighty-eight men of war, and twenty fire-ſhips, divided alſo into three ſquadrons, under *de Ruyter*, *Evertz* (brother to the admiral who was killed in the former engagement) and *Tromp* [p].

ON the twenty-fifth of *July*, about noon, the *Engliſh* came up with the enemy off the north-foreland. Sir *Thomas Allen* with the *white* ſquadron began the battle, by attacking *Evertz*. Prince *Rupert* and the duke, about one in the afternoon, made a deſperate attack upon *de Ruyter*, and after fighting about three hours, were obliged to go on board another ſhip. In this ſpace the *white* ſquadron had entirely defeated their enemies, admiral *Evertz*, his vice-admiral *de Vries*, and his rear-admiral *Koenders*, being all killed, the vice-admiral of *Zeland* taken, and another ſhip

[p] Philips's chronicle, Kennet, Burchet, Baſnage, Le Clerc, De Neuville.

ſhip of fifty guns burnt. The prince and duke fought *de Ruyter* ſhip to ſhip, diſabled the *Guelderland* of ſixty-ſix guns, which was one of his ſeconds, killed the captain of another, and mortally wounded two more, upon which the *Dutch* ſquadron began to fly [q]. However, vice-admiral *Van Nes* ſtood bravely by *de Ruyter*, and received great damage: yet being at laſt deſerted by all but ſeven ſhips, they yielded to neceſſity, and followed the reſt of their fleet as faſt as they could. *De Ruyter*'s ſhip was ſo miſerably torn, and his crew ſo diſpirited and fatigued, that he could have made but little reſiſtance, and nothing but the want of wind hindered the *Engliſh* from boarding him. As for admiral *Van Tromp*, he was engaged with ſir *Jeremiah Smith* at a diſtance, and ſo could not aſſiſt his friends. As his was the ſtrongeſt ſquadron of the *Dutch* fleet, and *Smith*'s the weakeſt of the *Engliſh*, we had no great advantage on that ſide; yet ſome we had, his vice-admiral's ſhip being diſabled, and his rear-admiral killed; which, however, did not hinder his fighting it out with much bravery, as long as there was light [r].

ADMIRAL *de Ruyter* continued his retreat that night, and the next day prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* purſued him with part of the *red* ſquadron, as faſt as the wind would permit. A fire-ſhip bore down upon the *Dutch* admiral, and miſſed very little of ſetting him on fire. They then cannonaded again, when *de Ruyter* found himſelf ſo hard preſſed, and his fleet in ſuch eminent danger, that in a fit of deſpair he cryed out, *My god, what a wretch am I! amongſt ſo many thouſand bullets, is not*

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[q] Philips's Chronicle, Columna Roſtrata, Hiſtory of the Dutch wars.

[r] Baſnage Le Clerc, De Neuville, &c.

not there one to put me out of my pain? By degrees, however, he drew near their own ſhallow coaſt, where the *Engliſh* could not follow him. Upon this occaſion, prince *Rupert* inſulted the *Dutch* admiral, by ſending a little ſhallop called the *Fanfan*, with two ſmall guns on board, which being rowed near *de Ruyter*'s veſſel, fired upon him for two hours together; but at laſt a ball from the *Dutch* admiral ſo damaged his contemptible enemy, that the crew were forced to row, and that briſkly, to ſave their lives. The enemy being driven over the flats into the wylings, the *Engliſh* went to lie at *Schoneveld*, the uſual rendezvous of the *Dutch* fleets *.

This was the cleareſt victory gained in the whole war: the *Dutch* were miſerably beaten, and their two great admirals *de Ruyter* and *Tromp*, had nothing to do but to lay the blame on each other, which they did with all the aggravating circumſtances they could deviſe. In this battle the *Dutch* loſt twenty ſhips; four admirals killed, and a great many captains: as to private men, there might be about four thouſand ſlain, and three thouſand wounded. The *Engliſh* had only the *Reſolution* burnt, three captains killed, and about three hundred private men. Upon this occaſion it appeared, of how little ſervice it is to ſpread falſe rumours amongſt the populace. The *Dutch* people had been aſſured, that the laſt battle had entirely ruined the naval ſtrength of *England*, and that their fleet when it ſailed out, was gone to deſtroy the coaſting trade, and to inſult the ſea-ports of our iſland. When therefore in the ſpace of ſix weeks they ſaw the reverſe of this,

* Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 783. Le Clerc, De Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, Leven Van Tromp.

this, their own countrymen flying, the *Engliſh* navy ſtationed on their ſhore, and their whole commerce at a ſtand, their fury is not to be expreſſed. They reproached their governors, not only with want of courage and fortune, but alſo with being deficient in point of probity, and with endeavouring to impoſe on a nation they could not protect. Their rage, great as it was, received no ſmall increaſe from a new misfortune, heavier in itſelf, and more ſhameful in its nature, than any they had yet ſuſtained; yet whether ſo honourable to the *Engliſh* as ſome have repreſented it, I will not take upon me to determine, but leave it to the deciſion of the reader, when he ſhall have read the beſt account of the matter I am able to give [t].

On the twenty-ninth of *July*, the *Engliſh* fleet weighed anchor, and ſteered their courſe for the *Ulie*; but the wind being contrary, they did not make the iſland till the ſeventh of *Auguſt*. Being then come to anchor, prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* received intelligence, that, notwithſtanding there were very rich ſtorehouſes on the iſlands, and a large fleet of merchant-men lying between them, yet *Ulie* and *Schelling* were very indifferently

[t] The Dutch miniſters, who in thoſe times preached as if they had the rolls of deſtiny lying open before them, affirmed the fire of London, which happened the September following, to be a judgment from heaven for this action. Some of our own writers are very angry with it, and with ſir Robert Holmes for performing it: but this is quite abſurd, ſince he acted in conſequence of the reſolution of a council of war, and is, therefore, commendable in this reſpect, whatever may be thought of his orders, or his conduct in other things. See Kennet, Coke's Detection, Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuarts, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

ly guarded; upon which it was reſolved to attack them forthwith [u].

Upon this, a council of flag-officers were called, in order to make the neceſſary diſpoſitions for this great attempt. There it was reſolved, that three hundred men ſhould be drawn out of each ſquadron, two thirds land, and one third ſeamen, under nine captains; and the whole to be executed under the direction of ſir *Robert Holmes*, rear-admiral of the *red*, with whom went ſir *William Jennings*, who, in caſe it was found expedient to attack both iſlands at once, was to command one diviſion. The ſhips appointed for this enterprize were five fourth, three fifth rates, five fire-ſhips, and ſeven ketches, as ſir *Robert Holmes* tells us in his relation of the affair [w].

On the eighth of *July*, about ſeven in the morning, this ſquadron weighed, divided from the reſt of the fleet, and came to anchor about a league from the *Buoys*, where they met the prince's pleaſure-boat called the *Fanfan*, who had diſcovered in the harbour a conſiderable fleet of ſhips near the *Ulie*, which proved to be one hundred and ſeventy merchant-ſhips, the leaſt of which was not leſs than two hundred tons burthen, with two men of war, which had lately convoyed near a hundred of the aforeſaid ſhips from the northward, homeward bound, ſome from the *Streights*, ſome from *Guinea*, ſome from *Ruſſia*, ſome from

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[u] The Ulie is an iſland from which the Dutch fleets uſually ſail to the Baltick, it has the Texel on the ſouth, and Schelling on the north. [w] I take this from the account by authority, entitled, *A true and perfect narrative of the great ſucceſs of a part of his majeſty's fleet by their burning one hundred and ſixty* Dutch *ſhips within the* Ulie. Of this there is an extract in Kennet.

from the eaſt countries: the reſt were outward-bound ſhips, all of which likewiſe were very richly laden *.

Sir *Robert Holmes* conſidering, that if he ſhould proceed, as his deſign was, firſt to attempt a deſcent on the land, that numerous fleet might poſſibly pour in ſuch numbers of men, as might render the ſucceſs hazardous, reſolved to begin with the ſhips; and accordingly, having ordered the *Advice* and the *Hampſhire*, to lie without the *Buoys*, he weighed with the reſt of his fleet; and the wind being contrary, he turned with much ado into *Schelling* road, where the *Tyger* came to anchor, and immediately ſir *Robert* went on board the *Fanfan*, and hoiſted his flag; upon which the officers came on board him; and there it was ordered, that the *Pembroke*, which drew the leaſt water, with the five fire-ſhips, ſhould fall in amongſt the enemy's fleet with what ſpeed they could. Captain *Browne* with his fire-ſhip choſe very bravely to lay the biggeſt man of war on board, and burnt him downright. Another fire-ſhip running up at the ſame time to the other man of war, he, backing his ſails, eſcaped the preſent execution of the fire-ſhip; but ſo as to run himſelf by it on ground, where he was preſently taken by ſome of the long-boats, and fired. The other three fire-ſhips clapped the three great merchant men on board, which carried flags in their main-tops, and burnt them. This put their fleet into great confuſion, which ſir *Robert Holmes* perceiving, made a ſignal for all the officers to come on board again; and preſently gave orders, that ſir *William Jennings*, with all the boats that could be ſpared, ſhould take the

* If the reader conſiders the number, the burthen, and the trade in which theſe ſhips were employed, he will eaſily diſcern the credit due to the ſubſequent account of damages.

the advantage, and fall in, ſink, burn and deſtroy all they could; but with a ſtrict command, that they ſhould not plunder. The execution was ſo well followed, each captain deſtroying his ſhare, ſome twelve, ſome fifteen merchant-men, that of the whole fleet, there eſcaped not above eight or nine ſhips, one of which was a *Gulnes* man of twenty-four guns, and three ſmall privateers, theſe ſhips being driven up into a narrower corner of the ſtream, ſerved to protect four or five merchant-men that were a-head of them, where it was not poſſible for our boats to come at them; though even theſe few were much damag'd [y].

THE next day, being the 10th of *Auguſt*, it was found expedient to land on the iſland of *Schelling*, than that upon *Ulie*, which was performed by ſir *Robert Holmes*, with eleven companies in his long-boats, and he landed with little or no oppoſition. When he came on ſhore, he left one company to ſecure his boat, and with the other ten, marched three miles up into the country, to the capital town called *Brandaris*, in which there were upwards of a thouſand fine houſes; where keeping five companies upon the ſkirts of the town, to prevent any ſurprize of the enemy, he ſent the other five to ſet fire to the place: but finding them ſomewhat ſlow to execute that order, and fearing they might be tempted to forget themſelves in the pillage, he was himſelf forced to ſet fire to ſome houſes to the windward, the ſooner to diſpatch the work, and haſten his men away, which burnt with ſuch violence, that in half an hour's time, moſt part of the town was in a bright flame. This place was reported the

[y] This account agrees very well with what is ſaid on the ſame ſubject by the Dutch writers.

by thoſe that were found in it, to have been very rich, and ſo it appeared by ſome of the ſoldiers pockets; but very few people were to be ſeen there, having had time to eſcape from the danger, except ſome old men and women, who were uſed by the *Engliſh* after they fell into their hands, with all poſſible gentleneſs and humanity [z].

THIS blow greatly affected the *Dutch*, who, according to their own accounts, ſuffered the loſs of near ſix millions of guilders; and if we take the ſhips into this computation, they confeſs that they were loſers to the amount of eleven millions, or, one million, one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. We need not wonder that this wounded deep, and engaged the *States* to uſe their utmoſt diligence in fitting out a new fleet [a].

AS ſoon as it was ready, the command was beſtowed on *de Ruyter*, *Tromp* being at that time out of commiſſion. This navy conſiſted of ſeventy-nine men of war and frigates, and twenty-ſeven fire-ſhips [b]. The firſt deſign they had, was to join the *French* ſquadron, which *Louis* XIV. had promiſed to fit out for their aſſiſtance; in this they were diſappointed, and after a dangerous navigation, in which they were more than once chaſed by a ſuperior *Engliſh* fleet, they were glad to return, though fired with indignation at ſuch uſage, which, it is ſaid, wrought ſo powerfully on the mind of *de Ruyter*, as to throw him into a fit of ſickneſs [c].

[z] This burning of the town of *Bandaris*, is ſomewhat leſſened in the detail given by M. de Neuville in his hiſtoire de Hollande, tom. iii. p. 287. [a] Some writers make the loſs ſuſtained by the Dutch ſtill more, viz. 12,000,000 guilders, or, 1,200,000 l. ſterling, Lediard's Naval Hiſtory, p. 387. Rapin diminiſhes the loſs and the number of ſhips. [b] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 785. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Kennet, Columna Roſtrata. [c] The Dutch writers differ much from the Engliſh, in reſpect to theſe particulars; but their accounts are inconſiſtent with each other. Beſides, if they were ſuperior at ſea, how came they not to join the French?

WHEN the *French* thought the coaſt pretty clear, they ventured out with their fleet; but ſir *Thomas Allen* attacking them with his ſquadron, boarded the *Ruby*, a fine ſhip of a thouſand tons, and fifty-four guns, and carrying her in a ſhort time, it ſo diſcouraged the *French* miniſtry, that they ſcarce ventured their navy out of ſight of its own ſhore. But, in the mean time, to convince the *Engliſh* that they were determined enemies, though they did not like fighting, they had recourſe to a ſtratagem, or, to call the thing by its proper name, they ſet on foot a dirty conſpiracy for ſeizing the iſland of *Guernſey*. In purſuit of this fine ſcheme, they ſent a gentleman who was governor of the principal fortreſſes upon their own coaſts, to negotiate with major-general *Lambert*, an old republican, who was priſoner in the iſland. But the general, it ſeems, preferred any government to a *French* one, and therefore, having made a free diſcovery of theſe politicians, they were taken and hanged for ſpies [d]. This, methinks, is ſufficient to ſhew that both courts were in earneſt; which, however, is a fact ſome people then, and not a few hiſtorians now, pretend to doubt.

BY the end of the year 1666, all parties began to grow weary of war, which was certainly directly oppoſite to the intereſt of both *Britain* and *Holland*, and may therefore be juſtly referred to the arts of *France*, and the ſituation of M. *de Wit*, a man equally fortunate in his abilities, and unhappy in the application of them. A man who underſtood the intereſts of his country thoroughly, and in his own nature was certainly inclined to promote them; but

[d] Philips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 554. Kennet, Echard, Burchet.

but having been engaged from his birth in the deſigns of a faction bent to ruin the authority, intereſt, and credit of the houſe of *Orange*, he came to have an inveteracy againſt the *Engliſh* court, which grew ſo much the more vehement, the leſs cauſe there was for it. He had plunged his country into this war to gratify his own humour, and to pin himſelf effectually on *France*; and now, when his countrymen were almoſt unanimouſly deſirous of peace, which motions were well received, and readily complied with in *England*, he contrived in his own mind ſuch a method of making war, as he thought would effectually raiſe the reputation of his family, and at the ſame time cut off the head of a very honeſt gentleman, who, at the requeſt, and by the conſent of the ſtates, had carried on a correſpondence in *England* for facilitating a peace [e].

THE king of *Sweden* having offered his mediation, it was readily accepted on both ſides. On the one hand, the plague, the fire of *London*, and other national misfortunes, particularly the reſtleſſneſs of factions, (a miſchief from which we are ſeldom free) engaged king *Charles* to be ſincere in his deſires of a peace. The *Dutch*, on the other hand, needed it; they were drawn into the war to ſerve the purpoſes of their miniſtry, and many arts had been practiſed to keep them in it, though it was equally againſt their intereſt and inclinations. Now, therefore, when *France* found pacific meaſures expedient, or rather was convinced that carrying the war on, would ſerve only to raiſe the reputation of *England*, and to obſcure

[e] The matter is very fairly ſtated in Baſnage's Annals, but Mr. de Neuville treats M. Buat, who ſuffered, on this occaſion as a downright traitor; though he owns he had formerly ſerved his country with equal integrity and courage.

their own, as well as ruin the *Dutch*: a treaty was ſet on foot at *Breda*, not only at the deſire of the *States*, but by their expreſs appointment of time and place, in which they were indulged by king *Charles*, purely to ſhew the ſincerity of his reſolutions. Whilſt this treaty was thus negotiating, *de Wit* was reſolved to put in practice his baſe project; which, though executed with ſucceſs, and eſteemed glorious for a moment, yet, in the end, proved fatal to his country, and more ſo to himſelf and his brother, who had the immediate conduct and execution of it [f].

WHEN the penſionary *John de Wit* was laſt on board the *Dutch* fleet, and, in the abſence of the *Engliſh* navy, had cruiſed upon our coaſt; he took an opportunity of ſending perſons to ſound the mouth of the river *Thames*, in order to diſcover, how far it might be practicable to make any attempt therein with large ſhips; and having by this means found, with what facility the project he had formed, might be executed, he reſolved to proceed in it, notwithſtanding the negotiations for peace were then far advanced. He at firſt opened himſelf to the count *d'Eſtrades*, the *French* ambaſſador, who communicated the deſign to his court, where it met with the utmoſt approbation, and where meaſures were taken for rendering it effectual in its execution [g]. To this end it was neceſſary king *Charles* ſhould be perſuaded, that there was no neceſſity of fitting out a fleet for this year, ſince this would

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[f] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 804. de Neuville, Wicqueſort, Columna Roſtrata, Kennet, &c. [g] For theſe particulars we are indebted to the letters count d'Eſtrades the french miniſter, to the States, which ſhew very clearly the whole courſe of this intrigue.

would have rendered the deſign of the *Dutch* ſtateſman, not only difficult and dangerous, but abſolutely impracticable. With a view to this, the queen mother (whoſe advices were always fatal to this nation) was perſuaded to write her ſon a letter, wherein ſhe informed him, that his moſt chriſtian majeſty, and the *States-General*, had turned their thoughts entirely towards peace; and that it might have ill effects, if his majeſty, by fitting out a great fleet, ſhould alarm them on their coaſts, as in the preceeding year. This advice agreeing with the king's temper, and circumſtances, whoſe courtiers plundered him, and againſt whoſe meaſures a party was formed, many of whom, notwithſtanding their profeſſions of patriotiſm, in reality meant little more than places and preferments, we need not wonder he fell ſo readily into it; for covetous and needy princes, are alike liable to the greateſt foible in governing; the preferring of preſent gain to any future proſpect whatever. Notwithſtanding, therefore, his naval magazines were never better provided, king *Charles* ordered only two ſmall ſquadrons for the ſummer ſervice, in 1667 [b].

THINGS being thus in a readineſs, the laſt reſolution was taken in *Holland*, for the immediate execution of *de Wit's* project; and this reſolution was ſigned by the *French* miniſter as well as by the deputies of the ſtates. His moſt chriſtian majeſty had promiſed that a ſquadron of his ſhips, under the command of the duke of *Beaufort*, ſhould aſſiſt therein. However, that the iſſue of the thing might irritate the *Engliſh* againſt the *Dutch* only, the *French* waved the performance of their promiſe, when the matter, how-

[b] Kennet, Columna Roſtrata, Burchet.

ever, was ſo far advanced that the *Dutch* found it impoſſible to go back. Yet the *Engliſh* miniſters were treating all this time at *Breda*, where, from the beginning, there was a fair appearance for concluding a peace [1].

THE pretence made uſe of by *de Wit*, for fitting out a fleet in the ſpring, was, the miſchief which had been done to their navigation, by the privateers from *Scotland*. In order to check theſe, admiral *Van Ghendt* was ſent with a conſiderable fleet into the *Frith*, with orders to burn the coaſts, and recover ſuch ſhips as were in thoſe ports. He appeared before *Leith* on the 1ſt of *May*, and might, if he had thought fit, have done a great deal of miſchief; but he contented himſelf with cannonading *Burnt-Iſland*, to very little purpoſe. When the *Engliſh* court received the news of this proceeding, it confirmed them in their opinion, that there would be no fighting that year, and that this expedition, was purely to quiet the minds of the people, enough diſturbed by their late loſſes. But *de Wit*, in the mean time, had haſtily manned out a large fleet, under the command of *de Ruyter*, on board which he intended to have gone in perſon; but the *French* proteſted againſt this ſtep, and therefore he was, at laſt, content to ſend *Cornelius de Wit*, his brother. Care had been taken to provide ſome of the old republican officers, to command the troops which were to make a deſcent; and theſe alſo eaſily

[1] In this, the hiſtorians of both nations agree. One would wonder how, after duly conſidering this fact, any writer can aſſert (as Dutch hiſtorians do) that de Wit's expedition was neceſſary to the making of the peace. King Charles had yielded to a treaty, at the requeſt of the Dutch; he had left the manner of negotiating it to them; he had diſarmed his victorious fleet. What ſigns, beyond theſe, could he ſhew of inclining to peace?

eaſily procured pilots to conduct the *Dutch* into our rivers and ports. So wild a thing is faction, which, though always covered with fair pretences of love for the public, will yet lead ſuch as are deluded thereby to the moſt flagitious actions, and ſuch as viſibly tend to deſtroy what by their own principles they ſhould moſt vigorouſly defend [k]!

THE fleet being ready, ſailed over to the *Engliſh* coaſt, where it was joined by *Van Ghendt*, and conſiſted then of ſeventy men of war, beſides fire-ſhips. On the 7th of *June*, a ſquadron was ſent into the river *Thames*, to perform what they had been ſo long plotting. On the 10th they attacked *Sheerneſs*, which was at that time unfiniſhed, and in no ſtate of defence. Here they found fifteen iron guns, and a conſiderable quantity of naval ſtores. Though the court had ſcarce any warning of this attempt, yet the duke of *Albemarle*, Sir *Edward Spragge*, and other grreat officers, had made all imaginable proviſion for the defence of the river *Medway*, by ſinking ſhips in the paſſage, throwing a chain a-croſs it, and placing three large veſſels, which had been taken from the *Dutch* in this war, behind the chain. The *Dutch* had the advantage of a ſtrong eaſterly wind, which encouraged them to endeavour burning our ſhips at *Chatham*, in ſpite of theſe precautions taken to preſerve them. It was on the 12th of *June*, they executed this deſign; which, however, had miſcarried, if one captain *Brakell*, who was a priſoner on board their fleet for ſome miſdemeanor, had not offered (to wipe out

[k] Philip's chronicle, Ludlow's memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Columna roſtrata, Burchet, Rapin.

the memory of his former miſtake, to undertake breaking the chain, which he gallantly performed [l].

He alſo with great bravery boarded and took one of the *Engliſh* frigates which guarded the paſſage, ſoon after *The Matthias*, *The Unity*, and *The Charles the fifth*, being the ſhips which, as before obſerved, had been taken by the *Dutch*, were ſet on fire. The next day, the advantage of wind and tide continuing, they advanced with ſix men of war and five fire-ſhips, as high as *Upnore*-caſtle, but were ſo warmly received by major *Scot*, who commanded therein, and Sir *Edward Spragge* from the oppoſite ſhore, gave them ſo much diſturbance, that they were quickly obliged to return. However, as they came back, they burnt *The Royal Oak*, a very fine ſhip, and in her captain *Douglaſs*, whoſe behaviour ought to perpetuate his memory. He had received orders to defend his ſhip, which he did with the utmoſt reſolution; but, having none to retire, he choſe to burn with her, rather than live to be reproached with having deſerted his command. On the 14th, they carried off the hull of *The Royal Charles*, notwithſtanding all the *Engliſh* could do to prevent it; which was what they had principally at heart. In their return, two *Dutch* men of war ran aſhore in the *Medway*, and were burnt, which, with eight fire-ſhips conſumed in the action, and one hundred and fifty men killed, is all the loſs acknowledged by the *Dutch* writers; though it is not improbable that they really ſuffered much more [m].

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[l] I take theſe facts from the ſeveral accounts in their hiſtorians and our own; but particularly from the relations laid before the houſe of commons of this whole affair, of which I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. [m] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 804. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna roſtrata.

De Ruyter, highly pleaſed with what he had performed, left admiral *Van Nes* with part of his fleet in the mouth of the *Thames*, and ſailed with the reſt to *Portſmouth*, in hopes of burning the ſhips there. Failing in this deſign, he ſailed weſtward to *Torbay*, where he was likewiſe repulſed. Then he returned to the mouth of the *Thames*, and with twenty-five ſail came as high as the *Hope*, where our ſquadron lay, under the command of Sir *Edward Spragge*. This conſiſted of eighteen ſail; yet, the admiral not being on board when the enemy began the attack, we ſuffered at firſt from their fire-ſhips; but Sir *Edward* repairing with great diligence to his command, and being joined by Sir *Joſeph Jordan*, with a few ſmall ſhips, quickly forced the *Dutch* to retire. The like ſucceſs attended their attack on *Land-Guard* fort, which was performed by ſixteen hundred men, commanded by colonel *Doleman*, a republican, under the fire of their whole fleet: but governor *Darrel*, an old cavalier, beat them off with great loſs. On the 23, *Van Nes* ſailed again up the river as far as the *Hope*, where he engaged Sir *Edward Spragge*, who had with him five frigates, and ſeventeen fire-ſhips. This proved a very ſharp action, at leaſt between the fire-ſhips, of which the *Dutch* writers themſelves confeſs they ſpent eleven to our eight. The next day the *Engliſh* attacked the *Dutch* in their turn, and, notwithſtanding their ſuperiority, forced them to retire, and to burn the only fire-ſhip they had left, to prevent her being taken. On the 25th, they bore out of the river, with all the ſail they could make, followed at a diſtance by Sir *Edward Spragge*, and his remaining fire-ſhips. On the 26th, in the mouth of the river, they were met by another *Engliſh* ſquadron from *Harwich*, conſiſting of five men of war, and fourteen fire-ſhips. They boldly

ly attacked the *Dutch*, and grappled the vice-admiral of *Zeland*, and another large ſhip; but were not able to fire them, though they frighted a hundred of their men into the ſea. The rear-admiral of *Zeland* was forced on ſhore, and ſo much damaged thereby, as to be obliged to return home [n].

THE *Dutch* fleets, notwithſtanding theſe diſappointments, and though it was now very evident that no impreſſion could be made, as had been expected, on the *Engliſh* coaſts, continued ſtill hovering about, even after they were informed that the peace was ſigned at *Breda*. Our writers are pretty much at a loſs to account for this conduct; but a *Dutch* hiſtorian has told us very plainly, that *Cornelius de Wit* ordered our ports to be ſounded, and took pains to obſerve the ſtrength of our maritime forts, and the proviſion made for protecting the mouths of our rivers; which ſhewed plainly, though this was the firſt, it was not deſigned to be the laſt viſit. Theſe were certainly very provoking circumſtances, and he added to them at his return a ſtrange act of indignity towards the king, and the *Engliſh* nation, by repreſenting himſelf in triumph, and them at his feet in a pompous picture, which he cauſed to be hung up in a public edifice, to heighten the inſult to the laſt degree. But before we ſpeak of the peace, and of what followed thereupon in *Holland*, it will

[n] Beſides the authors before-mentioned, the reader may conſult Ludlow's memoirs, in order to be convinced, that the Dutch, and particularly the de Wits, had our deſtruction more at heart than their own ſafety; and, that this Chatham expedition was chiefly contrived, directed and executed by our own fugitives.

will be requiſite to give ſome account of ſuch actions in the war as have not yet been mentioned [o].

WHILE the whole *Dutch* fleet was employed in alarming our coaſts, ſir *Jeremiah Smith* was ſent with a ſmall ſquadron northwards; with which, and the aſſiſtance of a numerous fleet of privateers already abroad for their own profit, the *Dutch* commerce to the *Baltick* was in a manner ruined, and multitudes of rich prizes were daily brought into *Engliſh* ports. Thus it may be truly ſaid, that the nations at this time changed characters. The *Dutch* preferred the inſult at *Chatham*, which, all things conſidered, was of little or no conſequence to them, to the preſervation of their trade; and the *Engliſh* endeavoured to make themſelves amends for this unexpected loſs of a few men of war, by taking numbers of merchant-men. Such are the effects which private paſſions produce in public affairs! The indolence and credulity of king *Charles* expoſed his ſubjects and himſelf to this ſtain on their reputation, and the fury and ſelf-intereſt of the *de Wit* faction expoſed, for the ſake of furthering their own purpoſes, the trade of their country at preſent, and its future welfare, to extreme hazard. But let us return from men to things [p].

THE *Engliſh* in the *Weſt-Indies*, took the iſland of St. *Euſtatie*, *Salia*, St. *Martin*, *Bonaira*, the iſland of *Tabago*, and other places from the *Dutch*. On the contrary, the *Dutch*, under the conduct of commodore *Krynſen*, made them-

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[o] Theſe acts of indignity and contempt were not only galling to the king, and ſuch of his ſubjects as were truly loyal, but they were alſo ſuch marks of rivetted hate, and implacable prejudice, as diſpoſed that prince more than any thing to receive ill impreſſions from France; and, therefore, how wrong ſoever his ſubſequent conduct might be (politically conſidered) yet the Dutch had apparently themſelves to blame.

[p] Philip's chronicle, p. 564. Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

themſelves maſters of *Surinam*; and the *French*, aſſiſted by the *Dutch*, almoſt deprived the *Engliſh* of their half of the iſland of St. *Chriſtopher's*, after ſeveral obſtinate diſputes, and the death of their commander *Les Salles*. Six frigates, and ſome other ſmall veſſels from *Barbadoes*, failing to repair this loſs, were ſo ill treated by a violent ſtorm that they were put out of a condition to execute their deſign, and two or three of the moſt diſabled ſhips fell into the hands of the enemy; though before their misfortune, they had burnt two *Dutch* ſhips richly laden, in the harbour of *Los Santos*. Some authors ſay, this little fleet was commanded by the lord *Willoughby*, and that himſelf was loſt in the hurricane. The *Engliſh* were more ſucceſsful in the neighbourhood of *Surinam*, where they deſtroyed the *Dutch* colony, took a fort belonging to the *French*, and afterwards made themſelves maſters of many rich prizes, at the expence of that nation [q].

THE *Dutch* admiral *Euertz*, in conjunction with commodore *Krynſen*, recovered the iſland of *Tobago*, and did a great deal of miſchief upon the coaſt of *Virginia*. In *March* 1667, ſir *John Harman* was ſent with a ſquadron of twelve men of war to redreſs theſe miſchiefs. He performed all that he was ſent for, and effectually cleared the ſeas both of *French* and *Dutch* rovers; yet he had not been long there, before he found himſelf puſhed by a ſuperior force. The *Dutch* commodore *Krynſen*, having embarked on board his ſquadron thirteen hundred land troops, ſailed to *Martinico*, where he joined monſieur *de la Barre*, who commanded all the forces of the *French* king in thoſe parts. Their fleet after this conjunction

confiſted

[q] Burchet, britiſh empire in America.

conſiſted of two and twenty ſail of ſtout ſhips, with which they went to ſeek the *Engliſh* ſquadron upon the coaſt of St. *Chriſtopher*'s. On the 10th of *May* 1667, an engagement enſued, which laſted with great vigour for above three hours, in which the *Engliſh*, notwithſtanding the ſuperior force of the enemy, obtained a compleat victory. The *Dutch* hiſtorians ſay, that had it not been for the courage and conduct of the officers of their fleet, the *French* admiral had been taken; and, on the other hand, it is certain that thoſe officers were ſo ill ſatisfied with the behaviour of the *French*, that they quitted them upon their return to St. *Chriſtopher*'s. The *Engliſh* admiral with his fleet came ſoon after thither, burnt the *French* admiral, and ſix or ſeven ſhips in the harbour, and either ſunk himſelf, or obliged the *French* to ſink, all the reſt of the ſhips that were there except two, and this with the loſs only of eighty men[r].

In the firſt of theſe engagements, our writers have obſerved, that the admiral ſir *John Harman* was exceedingly ill of the gout, ſo as not to be able to ſtir. On the firſt firing, however, he ſtarted up and went upon deck, gave his orders throughout the engagement, in which he acted with all the alacrity imaginable, and when it was over, became as lame as he was before. By theſe victories he became maſter in thoſe ſeas, and took from the *Dutch* their plantation at *Surinam*; but, however, it was reſtored by the treaty, as not taken within the time limited by that treaty for the concluſion of hoſtilities[s].

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[r] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 561. Kennet, Echard, Baſnage, Le Clerc. [s] Columna Roſtrata, p. 201. Kennet, Burchet.

THERE were three diſtinct treaties of peace ſigned at *Breda*, with the *Dutch*, the *French*, and the *Danes*, by the *Engliſh* miniſters, who were lord *Holles* and Mr. *Coventry*; which were ratified on the 24th of *Auguſt* 1667. The terms upon which this peace was made, were ſafe and honourable, at leaſt, though not ſo glorious and beneficial as might have been expected after ſuch a war. By it the honour of the flag was ſecured, and the iſland of *Poleron*, to prevent further diſputes was yielded to the *Dutch*. In the *Weſt-Indies* we kept all that we had taken, except *Surinam*, and the *French* were obliged to reſtore what they had taken in thoſe parts from us. Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the loſs of *Poleron*, and the ſpice-trade, was not ſo much owing to this treaty, as to the conduct of *Cromwell*, to whom it was yielded, when after turning out his maſters, he made peace with the *Dutch*. In obtaining it, he conſulted his honour, and ſeemed to have the intereſt of the nation at heart. But, knowing of how great conſequence it was to the *Dutch*, he conſented that, paying him an annual penſion they ſhould keep it, ſacrificing manifeſtly thereby the public intereſt to his own. The iſland being thus out of our poſſeſſion, and being of greater conſequence than ever to the *Dutch*, they would not at the time of this treaty depart from their pretenſions [t].

IT is certain that the king made this peace againſt his will, and without obtaining what he fought and expected from the war. The motives which induced him thereto were chiefly theſe. Firſt, diſorders in his domeſtic affairs, which diſquieted him with great reaſon. He found there

[t] Baſnage annales de provinces unies, vol. i. p. 806.

there was a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection amongſt his ſubjects, which produced the late misfortune at *Chatham*; and in caſe the war had continued, would have probably had worſe effects. And ſecondly, the *French* king's deſign was become apparent, and his claim to the greateſt part of the *Spaniſh Netherlands* openly avowed. If, therefore, the quarrel between *Great-Britain* and *Holland* had ſubſiſted any longer, the balance of power on the continent muſt have been loſt [n]. Such were the true grounds of the peace at *Breda*; and whoever conſiders the ſituation of things at home and abroad at that juncture, will think it, upon the whole, as good a peace as could have been expected.

We ſucceeded better in our negotiations this year in other parts. The worthy and wiſe earl of *Sandwich* concluded, on the 13th of *March*, a treaty with *Spain*, whereby all old differences were ſettled, the friendſhip between the two crowns renewed and ſtrengthened, and our commerce much extended. Soon after this, his lordſhip went to *Liſbon*, and there, by his mediation, a peace was made between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*, whereby the latter came to be owned an independent kingdom, and an end was put to a war which had already weakened each of the nations greatly, and might if longer purſued have been fatal to both. Towards the cloſe of this year, his

[n] What I aſſert above, the reader will find confirmed by two unexceptionable and irrefragable witneſſes, whoſe knowledge cannot be doubted, or credit queſtioned. As to the diſpoſition of the people to ſet up a republic again here, and the offers of Holland and France on that head, Ludlow is full in his memoirs, vol. iii. p. 184. &c. As to the king's judgment on the ſtate of affairs, ſir William Temple gives a candid and copious account in his letters, in which alſo he concurs with the king in his opinion.

majeſty ſent ſir *William Temple* into *Holland*, in order to enter into a ſtricter correſpondence with the *States*, and to concert with them the means of preſerving *Flanders* from falling into the hands of the *French*. This ſhews that his majeſty for the preſent laid aſide his reſentments for what had been done againſt him perſonally by the *Dutch*; and this, for the ſake of giving a check to the too great power of *France*. In conſequence of ſir *William*'s negotiation, was concluded the famous triple-alliance between *England*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; the moſt glorious ſtep taken in this reign, and which, ſteadily purſued, would have cruſhed at the beginning, that ambitious prince, whoſe projects never ceaſed diſturbing his neighbours, 'till after being humbled by the arms of *Britain*, he came to know himſelf, and deplore them on his death-bed *. But to return to our more immediate buſineſs.

THE *Dutch* war being over, his majeſty ſent ſir *Thomas Allen* with a ſtout ſquadron into the *Mediterranean*, to repreſs the inſults of the *Algerines*, who taking advantage of our differences, had diſturbed both the *Engliſh* commerce and the *Dutch*. The latter ſent admiral *Van Ghendt* with a ſquadron, to ſecure their trade; and he, having engaged ſix *Corſairs*, forced them to fly to their own coaſts, where probably they would have eſcaped, if commodore *Beach*, with four *Engliſh* frigates had not fallen upon them, and after a cloſe chace, obliged them to run a-ground. In this ſituation, they were attacked by the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* in their boats, and being abandoned by their reſpective crews, were all taken, and a great number of chriſtian ſlaves

* Philip's chronicle, Kennet, Parker's hiſtory of his own times, earl of Sandwich's Journal.

ſlaves of different nations releaſed. The *Engliſh* commodore preſented ſixteen *Dutch* ſlaves to admiral *Van Ghendt*; and received from him twenty *Engliſh* by way of exchange; but the *Algerine* ſhips being leaky, were burnt. The ſame year ſome of our frigates attacked ſeven of the enemies beſt ſhips near cape *Gaeta*. The admiral and vice-admiral of the *Algerines* carried fifty-ſix guns each; their rear-admiral, the biggeſt ſhip in the ſquadron, carried ſixty, and the leaſt forty. Yet, after a ſharp engagement the vice-admiral was ſunk, and the reſt forced to retire, moſt of them miſerably diſabled. At the cloſe of the year 1669, captain *Kempthorne*, (afterward ſir *John*) in the *Mary Roſe*, a ſmall frigate, engaged ſeven *Algerine* men of war, and after a very warm action, forced them to ſheer off, being in no condition to fight any longer; of which we have a particular account[x].

IT is ſomewhat extraordinary, that, conſidering the *Dutch*, as well as we, were concerned in attacking theſe pirates, we have no better account of the war that was carried on againſt them, or of the force they then had; but what we are left to collect as we can, from the ſcattered accounts of particular engagements with them. The only liſt I have ſeen, is, of the ſtate of their navy in 1668; and then it conſiſted of twenty-four ſhips great and ſmall, that is, from about fifty to twenty guns: and they had likewiſe ſix new ſhips of force, upon the ſtocks. Yet, this pitiful enemy continued to diſturb, and even to diſtreſs the commerce of both the maritime powers for ſeveral years. At laſt, ſir *Edward Spragge* was ſent in 1670,

[x] This account, together with a print repreſenting the whole action, engraved by Hollar, is inſerted by Ogleby, in his deſcription of Africa, p. 218.

with a ſtrong ſquadron of men of war and frigates, to put an end to the war. He cruiſed for ſome days before their capital, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer to his demands. Upon this, he ſailed from thence, with ſix frigates, and three fire-ſhips, to make an attempt upon a conſiderable number of thoſe *Corſairs* which lay in the haven of *Bugia*. By the way, he loſt the company of two of his fire-ſhips; yet not diſcouraged by this accident, he perſiſted in his reſolution. Being come before the place, he broke the boom at the entrance of the haven, forced the *Algerines* a-ground, and (notwithſtanding the fire of the caſtle) burnt ſeven of their ſhips, which mounted from twenty-four to thirty-four guns, together with three prizes: after which, he deſtroyed another of their ſhips of war near *Tadellis*. Theſe and other misfortunes cauſed ſuch a tumult among the *Algerines*, that they murdered their dey, and choſe another, by whom the peace was concluded to the ſatisfaction of the *Engliſh*, on the ninth of *December* in the ſame year; and as they were now ſufficiently humbled, and ſaw plainly enough that the continuance of a war with *England* muſt end in their deſtruction, they kept this peace better than any they had made in former times[y].

We are now come to the third *Dutch* war (frequently called the ſecond, becauſe it was ſo in reſpect to this reign) and to account for the beginning of it, will be no eaſy matter. It has been before ſhewn, that the laſt treaty of peace was made by king *Charles*, againſt his will, and on terms, to which, force only made him conſent. We need

[y] Philips's continuation of Heath's chronicle, Kennet, Burchet, Baſnage, de Neuville, le clerc, du Mont.

need not wonder, therefore, that he ſtill retained a diſlike to the *Dutch*. Beſides, there had been many other things done, ſufficient to diſtaſte any crowned head. For inſtance, their factory at *Gambron* in *Perſia*, after the peace, burnt the king in effigie, having firſt dreſſed up the image in an old ſecond-hand ſuit, to expreſs the diſtreſs in which they knew him in his exile; for this, as the king thought it beneath him to demand, ſo the *States-General* looked upon themſelves as above giving him, any ſatisfaction[z]. They likewiſe ſuffered ſome medals to be ſtruck; in which their vanity was very apparent. For inſtance, becauſe the triple-alliance had given a check to the power of *France*, and their mediation had been accepted in the treaty of *Aix la Chapelle*, they were pleaſed to boaſt of giving peace to *Europe*, and of being arbiters among contending princes. Here, however, it muſt be owned that, in making war at this juncture, king *Charles* acted under the direction of *French* counſels. He had about him, the worſt ſet of miniſters that ever curſed this, or perhaps any other nation. Men of different faiths, (if bad ſtates-men have any) and who agreed only in promoting thoſe arbitrary acts, which, while they ſeemed to make their maſter great, in reality ruined his and exalted their power. This infamous crew, for (however decked with titles by their maſter, no *Engliſhman* will tranſmit their names to poſterity with

 honour)

[z] This was very much inſiſted on in thoſe days, and the rather, becauſe things of a like nature were practiſed by the Dutch in Ruſſia, and other places. As to the fact before us, we have a long detail of it in voyages de Jean Baptiſte Tavernier, vol. i. p. 775. It is mentioned by Baſnage, and de Neuville, who both own, that it was a baſe and unjuſtifiable outrage. Inſtead, however, of attributing this to the Dutch nation, we ought in juſtice to refer it to the ſpirit of the de Wit miniſtry, which was its true ſource.

honour) were then called, the CABAL: and theſe engaged the king to liſten to the propoſitions of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, who, as he had before deceived him to ſerve the *Dutch*, ſo he now offered to deceive the *Dutch*, to gratify king *Charles*: and that the king might not heſitate at this ſtep, *Louis le grand*, betrayed his creature *de Wit*, and diſcovered a project he had ſent him, for entering into an offenſive alliance againſt *England*; which, with other articles for his private advantage, determined our prince to take a ſtep prejudicial to the proteſtant intereſt, repugnant to that of the nation, and dangerous to the balance of power in *Europe*[a].

BY virtue of a ſecret treaty with *France*, this war was to end in the total deſtruction of the republic of *Holland*. Part of its dominions was to be added to thoſe of *France*, and the reſt to fall to the ſhare of *England*. In order to have a pretence for breaking with them, the captain of the *Merlin*-Yatch, with ſir *William Temple*'s lady on board, had directions to paſs through the *Dutch* fleet, and on their not ſtriking to his flag, was commanded to fire; which he did, and was rewarded for it. The pretence thus ſecured, the *French* next undertook to lull the *Dutch* aſleep, as they had done us, when our ſhips were burnt at *Chatham*; and this too they performed, by offering their mediation to accommodate that difference which they had procured, and upon which the execution of all their ſchemes depended. Yet *de Wit* truſted to this; till, as the dupe

[a] The CABAL was a word very luckily choſen, ſince it was compoſed of the initial letters of their titles, which were Clifford, Aſhley, Buckingham, Arlington and Lauderdale. As to the juſtice of my account of them, the Reader may conſult Kennet, Echard, Rapin, Temple, Parker, Burnet, and Carte's life of the duke of Ormonde.

dupe of *France*, and the ſcourge of his own nation, he fell a ſacrifice to the fury of a free people. The war once reſolved on, ſir *Robert Holmes*, who began the former by his repriſals in *Guinea*, had orders to open this too, though without any previous declaration, by attacking the *Smyrna* fleet [b].

THIS ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips was commanded by ſir *Robert Holmes*, in the *St. Michael*, as admiral; the earl of *Oſſory*, in the *Reſolution*, as vice-admiral, and ſir *Fretcheville Holles*, as rear-admiral, in the *Cambridge*. They cruiſed in the channel on purpoſe to execute this ſcheme; of which, however, the *Dutch* had ſome notice, and ſent advice-boats to direct their fleet to ſteer northwards. But theſe inſtructions came too late; for they were already ſo far advanced, that it was thought more dangerous to return than to proceed, and therefore in a council of war it was reſolved to hold on their courſe. On the 13th of *March*, five of our frigates fell in with this fleet, which conſiſted of about fifty ſail of merchant-ſhips, and ſix men of war. When the *Engliſh* veſſels came near them, they fired, in order to make them ſtrike, and lower their top-ſails; which they refuſed to do. Upon this, the fight began, which laſted till night, and was renewed the next morning, when the *Dutch* fleet was in a manner ruined, five of their richeſt merchant-men were made prizes, their rear-admiral was boarded by captain *John Holmes*, brother to the admiral, and taken; but ſoon after ſunk, and the reſt of the men of war, were very rudely handled. The *Dutch* hiſtorians, however, ſet a good face upon the

[b] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 310. Philips, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

matter, and ſay, that their ſeamen behaved very bravely. This is true, but they ſuffered deeply for all that: and beſides, this was the beginning of hoſtilities, and a neceſſary prelude to the war. So the *States* underſtood it, and immediately diſpatched deputies hither, and to the *French* king, to ſue for peace[c].

In this, as in the former diſpute with the *Dutch*, ſuch ſhips as had been detained in port, were diſmiſſed on both ſides, and in the midſt of a cruel war, the *Dutch* profeſſed all imaginable eſteem for the *Engliſh* nation: and, on the other hand, king *Charles* offered his royal protection to ſuch as thought fit to quit their country in its preſent calamitous ſituation, and take ſhelter in his dominions. The war was ſolemnly proclaimed, on the 28th of *March* 1672, in the cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*; and great pains were taken to impoſe upon the world, a groſs and groundleſs notion, that it was undertaken at the inſtance, or at leaſt with the concurrence, of the people in general: whereas they knew their intereſt too well, not to diſcern how little this meaſure agreed with it; and therefore, though the king had then a parliament much to his mind, yet he found it extremely difficult to obtain ſupplies: while the *Dutch* in the midſt of all their miſeries, went on receiving ſixty millions of their money (which is between five and ſix millions of ours) annually from their ſubjects. So great difference there is between taxes levied by authority, and money chearfully paid to preſerve the common-wealth[d].

The

[c] Baſnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 193. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.
[d] Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Rapin, Baſnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville.

THE *French* king, that he might ſeem to perform his treaty with the *Engliſh* better than in the former war he had done that with the *Dutch*, ſent the count *d'Eſtrees*, vice-admiral of *France*, with a large ſquadron to join the *Engliſh* fleet. He arrived at St. *Helens* on the 3d of *May*; and immediately afterwards, the king went down to *Portſmouth*, and, to ſhew his confidence in his new ally, went on board the *French* admiral, where he remained ſome hours. Our fleet in a ſhort time ſailed to the *Downs*, the duke of *York* as admiral wearing the *Red*, and the earl of *Sandwich* the *Blue*: ſoon after, the *French* ſquadron joined them, their admiral having the *White* flag; and then the fleet conſiſted of one hundred and one ſail of men of war, beſides fire-ſhips and tenders. Of theſe the *Engliſh* had ſixty-five ſhips of war, and on board them four thouſand ninety-two pieces of cannon, and twenty-three thouſand five hundred and thirty men. The *French* ſquadron conſiſted of thirty-ſix ſail, on board of which were one thouſand nine hundred twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, and about eleven thouſand men. The *Dutch* in the mean time were at ſea with a very conſiderable fleet, conſiſting of ninety-one ſtout men of war, fifty-four fire-ſhips, and twenty-three yatchs. On the 9th of *May*, they were ſeen off *Dover*, and the 13th of the ſame month a *Dutch* ſquadron chaſed the *Glouceſter* and ſome other ſhips, under the cannon of *Sheerneſs* [a].

[a] It is generally believed, and indeed with good reaſon that count d'Eſtrees had orders to look on rather than fight; a conduct agreeable to that which had been purſued by the ſame court in the former war, when they pretended to aſſiſt the Dutch: as the reader may perceive, by comparing what is here ſaid, with the account before given, p. 260, &c.

THE *Engliſh* fleet were at anchor in *Solebay*, on the 28th of *May* when the *Dutch* fell in with them, and, if they had not ſpent too much time in council, had certainly ſurprized them. As it was, many of the *Engliſh* captains were forced to cut their cables, in order to get time enough into the line of battle. The engagement began between ſeven and eight in the morning, when *de Ruyter* attackedthe *Red* ſquadron in the center, and engaged the admiral, on board of which was his royal highneſs the duke of *York*, for two hours, forcing his highneſs at laſt to remove to another ſhip. The *Dutch* captain *Van Brakel* attacked the earl of *Sandwich* in the *Royal James*; and, while they were engaged, almoſt all the ſquadron of *Van Ghent* fell upon the earl's ſhips. His lordſhip behaved with amazing intrepidity, killed admiral *Van Ghent* himſelf, ſunk three fire-ſhips and a man of war, that would have laid him on board; but then, having loſt all his officers and two thirds of his men, his battered ſhip was grappled, and ſet on fire by a fourth fire-ſhip. Some of his men eſcaped, yet the earl continued on board till the flames ſurrounded him, and jumped through them into the ſea where he periſhed; but left behind him a name immortal, and which will ever be revered by ſuch as eſteem the valour of an officer, the capacity of a ſtateſman, or the integrity of a patriot[f].

THE death of their admiral, with the furious attack of part of the *Blue* ſquadron, coming in though too late, to the earl of *Sandwich*'s aſſiſtance threw this part of the *Dutch* fleet, which had been commanded by *Van Ghent* into very great confuſion, and forced them to ſtand off.

This

[f] Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville.

This gave an opportunity for the *Blue* ſquadron to join the *Red*, and to aſſiſt the duke of *York*, who deſerted by the *French*, was in the utmoſt danger of being oppreſſed by the ſquadrons of *de Ruyter* and *Bankert*. About this time *Cornelius Evertz* vice-admiral of *Zeland*, was killed, and *de Ruyter* and *Allemond* narrowly eſcaped being burnt by fire-ſhips: but when the *Engliſh* thought themſelves ſecure of victory, the ſcattered ſquadron of *Van Ghent* came in to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and again rendered doubtful the fortune of the day [g].

All this time the *French* who compoſed the *White* ſquadron, inſtead of ſeconding the efforts of the *Engliſh*, kept as far out of danger as they could, and left our fleet to ſuſtain the whole force of the enemy, at a diſadvantage of three to two. But, notwithſtanding this vaſt inequality of numbers, the fight continued with inexpreſſible obſtinacy till towards the evening, when victory declared itſelf for the *Engliſh*. Five or ſix of the enemies fire-ſhips were ſunk by an *Engliſh* man of war, and ſir *Joſeph Jordan* of the *Blue* ſquadron, having the advantage of the wind, pierced through the *Dutch* fleet, and ſpread through it the utmoſt confuſion; while a fire-ſhip clapped their admiral *de Ruyter* on board, and it was with great difficulty that he eſcaped being burnt or taken. As it grew dark, *de Ruyter* collecting his fleet in the beſt order he could, fought retreating, and, as the moſt authentic of the *Dutch* hiſtorians ſay, quitted the place of fight, and ſteered northwards [h].

As the *French* king had by this time over-run a great part of their country, the *States* by the advice of *de Wit* (whoſe

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[g] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 207, 208.
[h] Ibid. p. 209. Leven van de Ruyter, p. 675. de Neuville.

(whoſe brother had been preſent in this fight, ſeated under a canopy, as if he had been a ſovereign prince) aſſumed to themſelves the honour of beating the *Engliſh*. However they were ſo modeſt as to make no rejoicings for this ſuppoſed victory; and the diſtreſs their affairs were in, might well excuſe their departure on this occaſion from truth. Their people were already diſpoſed to deſtroy their governors, through madneſs at the ſight of the cruelties exerciſed by the *French*; and if to theſe there had been joïned the news of a defeat at ſea, one can ſcarce conceive how the republic could have been preſerved. As it was, the populace inſulted *Cornelius de Wit* on his return, and framing to themſelves an imaginary quarrel between him and *de Ruyter*, would willingly have killed him for an offence he never committed [1].

The *Engliſh*, on the other hand, had all the marks that could be deſired of a dear-bought victory. They carried off the *Staveren*, a large *Dutch* man of war; whereas the enemy took none of ours. They kept their poſt while *de Ruyter* made the beſt of his way home. All our relations made the victory clear, though not of any great conſequence; while *de Ruyter* himſelf, in his letter to the *States*, did not ſo much as claim it, but rather tacitly admitted the contrary. *Cornelius de Wit*, indeed, was of another opinion; but therein his intereſt dictated, rather than his judgment. The only objection that could be made to our claim was, not following the *Dutch* to their own coaſts; and, if we conſider the ſtrange unbecoming behaviour of the *French* in the battle, this will appear no objection at all. As to the loſs, it was pretty equal

on

[1] Baſnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter, du Mont.

on both ſides. We had four men of war ſunk or diſabled, but they were ſmall ſhips; whereas the *Dutch* loſt three of the beſt in their fleet; one ſunk, another burnt, and the third taken: a fourth called the *Great Holland*, commanded by the brave captain *Brakell*, was entirely diſabled. As for the *French*, notwithſtanding all their caution, they loſt two men of war, and their rear-admiral Mr. *de la Rabiniere*. Of perſons of note, beſides the earl of *Sandwich*, there were ſlain captain *Digby* of the *Henry*, captain *Pearce* of the St. *George*, captain *Waterworth* of the *Ann*, ſir *Fretcheville Holles* who commanded the *Cambridge*, ſir *John Fox* of the *Prince*, and captain *Hannam* of the *Triumph*. Of our voluntiers, there fell the lord *Maidſtone*, Mr. *Montague*, ſir *Philip Carteret*, ſir *Charles Harboard*, two of the duke of *York*'s gentlemen of the bedchamber, Mr. *Trevanian*, and many others. Of private men, about two thouſand five hundred were killed, and as many wounded. The *Dutch* did not think fit to publiſh any liſt, though their loſs without queſtion was as great; ſince *de Ruyter* ſays in his letter, it was the hardeſt fought battle that he ever ſaw [k].

Most of our writers, even of naval hiſtory, paſs over in ſilence the remaining ſervice performed in this year; becauſe it did not anſwer the mighty expectations of the miniſtry, by whom the moſt ſanguine ſchemes were contrived. But, as truth ought on all occaſions to be preferred to every thing, ſo I think myſelf obliged to report fairly the extravagant deſigns in which we embarked, and the means by which we were diſappointed, not more perhaps

[k] Philips, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin, Hiſtory of the Dutch war.

haps to our neighbours advantage than our own; for when wars made by princes are againſt the intereſt of their people, it often happens, that a diſappointment of the former, proves a kind of victory to the latter [1].

On the return of the *Dutch* fleet to their own coaſts, it was laid up, and was forced to remain ſo for want of gunpowder, all that was on board being ſent to the army. The *States* perceiving their authority almoſt loſt, and their country on the very brink of ruin, reſolved once more to try the force of entreaties, with which view they ſent four deputies to *England*, and as many to the *French* king. The buſineſs of the former was to ſhew the danger of the proteſtant religion, the approaching ruin of the balance of *Europe*, and the diſmal conſequences which muſt follow, even to *England*, from the further proſecution of the war. As to the latter, they were charged to offer any ſatisfaction to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, that he ſhould be pleaſed to require. The arrival of the deputies in *England* had very different effects; it alarmed the court, and filled the nation with concern. The king, who was then in the hands of the CABAL, treated them with a haughtineſs as little agreeable to his temper, as it ſuited ill with his dignity. Inſtead of hearing and giving them an anſwer in perſon, as he was wont on ſuch applications, he was pleaſed to ſend four of the CABAL to confer with them, in order to know what propoſals

[1] Mr. Philips, in his continuation of Heath's chronicle, mentions our fleet miſſing the Dutch Eaſt-India ſhips, p. 587. but ſpeaks not a word of this invaſion. Biſhop Kennet is alſo entirely ſilent; and Burchet, becauſe there was nothing done, ſeems unwilling to let his readers know there was any thing intended. Mr. Colliber, in his Columna Roſtrata, relates the matter fairly, but in very few words, p. 227.

poſals they had to make, and afterwards ſent over with them the duke of *Buckingham*, the earl of *Arlington*, and the viſcount *Hallifax* into *Holland*, as if he intended to treat there; whereas the true deſign was to be rid of the deputies, the ſight of whom drew the compaſſion of the nation, who conſidered the *Dutch* no longer as their rivals in trade, but as a proteſtant people, ſacrificed to a *French* and *Popiſh* intereſt [m]. On the arrival of theſe lords in *Holland*, they made moſt extravagant demands. Such as ten millions of guilders for the expence of the war, an annual tribute of one hundred thouſand, for the liberty of fiſhing, the perpetual ſtadholderſhip for the prince of *Orange*, and his iſſue male. All theſe were moderate articles to the reſt; for they inſiſted on a ſhare in their *Eaſt-India* trade, the poſſeſſion of the city of *Sluys* in *Flanders*, and the iſlands of *Cadzant*, *Walcheren*, *Goeree* and *Voorn*. After the propoſal of theſe intolerable conditions, the duke of *Buckingham* and the earl of *Arlington*, deſerting their collegue, went away to the *French* camp, and there concluded an agreement, in the name of their own prince, without his inſtructions, with the *French* king; the principal point of which was, that neither ſhould upon any terms

[m] I have entered farther into this matter than I ſhould otherwiſe have done, for two reaſons. Firſt, this was the grand expedition, and had it taken effect, would have put an end to the war, and to the republic of Holland. Lewis XIV. was in Utrecht, the biſhop of Munſter before Groningen, and had the Engliſh landed, the Zelanders were inclined to ſubmit. Secondly, this was apparently the favourite ſcheme of the cabal. Shafteſbury at home preached up the deſtruction of Holland. Buckingham and Arlington were abroad, intent on putting his doctrine in practice. This attempt therefore was critical, and its miſcarriage ſaved Holland certainly, Britain conſequentially, and very probably all Europe.

terms make a ſeparate peace with the *Dutch* [n]. As for the deputies ſent to his moſt chriſtian majeſty, they were talked to in the ſtile of a conqueror, and ſo ſent back to ſpread deſpair through their country; which they did ſo effectually, that the inhabitants drew from thence their ſafety: for, ſeeing no hopes of living better than in ſlavery, they generouſly reſolved to lay aſide all treaties, and to die free [o].

In the mean time the *French* and *Engliſh* fleets, being perfectly refitted, and the latter having taken on board a large body of land-forces, ſailed again for the *Dutch* coaſts, with a deſign to make a deſcent on *Zeland*, the only province into which the *French* had not carried their arms by land. Here they found the *Dutch* fleet; but not thinking proper to attack them among the ſands, they deferred the execution of their deſign, and blocked up the *Maeſe* and *Texel*; which *de Ruyter* (having ſtrict orders from the *States* not to hazard a battle) ſaw with concern, yet wanted power to prevent. The duke of *York* was reſolved to debark on the *Texel* [p] the body of troops on board his fleet. The occaſion was favourable in all reſpects; the *French*, and the biſhop of *Munſter*, were in the heart of the *Dutch* territories, ſo that no great force could be drawn together to reſiſt them on ſhore; and the coaſt was ſo low and

[n] This whole affair is very fairly ſtated in the compleat hiſtory of England, vol iii. p. 315—318. where from ſecretary Coventry's remarks, it looks as if theſe lords acted in their negotiation with the french king, rather as deputies from the cabal, than as ambaſſadors from Charles II. and from what followed, one would imagine the king too ſaw their conduct in this light. [o] Baſnage. Le Clerc, de Neuville, Vie de Tromp, du Mont, &c. [p] The Texel, though a ſmall iſland, is yet the moſt conſiderable of thoſe which, lying in a ſtraight line in the German ocean, cover the mouth of the Zuyder-zee.

and flat, that it looked as if nothing but a ſuperior force could have ſecured the *Dutch* from this invaſion. It was upon the third of *July* this reſolution was taken; and it was intended, that their forces ſhould have landed the next flood. But providence interpoſed in favour of a free people, and ſaved them from a yoke, which ſeemed already to preſs upon their necks. The ebb, inſtead of ſix, continued twelve hours, which defeated the intended deſcent for that time; and the ſtorm that roſe the night following, forced the fleet out to ſea, where they ſtruggled for ſome time with very foul weather, and, the opportunity being quite loſt, returned without performing any thing of conſequence to the *Engliſh* ſhore. The *Dutch* clergy magnified this accident into a miracle; and though ſome of our writers have thereupon arraigned them of ſuperſtition, yet I muſt own, that I think their exceſs of piety in this reſpect, very pardonable; eſpecially if we conſider, there could not be a higher ſtroke of policy, at that time, than to perſuade a nation, ſtruggling againſt ſuperior enemies, that they were particularly favoured by heaven [q].

AFTER this diſappointment, there was no other action thought of at ſea for this year, except the ſending ſir *Edward Spragge*, with a ſquadron, to diſturb the *Dutch* herring-fiſhery; which he performed with a moderation that became ſo great a man, contenting himſelf with taking one of

[q] Baſnage Annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 264. Where this extraordinary accident is juſtly ſtated, and fairly accounted for. The wonder did not conſiſt ſo much in an ebb of twelve hours, as in the time in which it happened; for though the like has fallen out, before and ſince, about the equinoxes, yet in July it never happened but at this juncture, when the ſwelling of the waters in the Y, and the Zuyder-zee repelled the flood.

of their veſſels, when he ſaw that was ſufficient to diſperſe the reſt [r]. But while the war ſeemed to ſlumber in *Europe*, it raged ſufficiently in the *Weſt* and *Eaſt-Indies*.

Sir *Tobias Bridges*, with five or ſix ſhips, and a regiment of foot from *Barbadoes*, made himſelf maſter of the iſland of *Tabago*, taking about four hundred priſoners, and five hundred ſlaves. On the other ſide, the *Dutch*, with five or ſix hundred men, poſſeſſed themſelves of the iſland of St. *Helena*, lying off the coaſt of *Africa*: for the fort not being defenſible on the land-ſide, the *Engliſh* governor and his people, after having ſeveral times repulſed the enemy, retired with all their valuable effects on board ſome *Engliſh* and *French* ſhips, as finding it impoſſible to preſerve the iſland after their landing. But commodore *Monday*, being ſent with four men of war, to convoy the *Engliſh Eaſt-India* fleet, and perceiving on his arrival at St. *Helena*, what had happened, reſolved to attempt retaking it: he was the rather induced to this reſolution, from his want of freſh water. Accordingly, landing ſome men on that ſide of the iſland which is moſt acceſſible, and at the ſame time attacking the fort with his ſhips, he eaſily ſucceeded in his deſign. The iſland being thus recovered, it ſerved the *Engliſh* as a net to incloſe and take the enemy's ſhips, for a *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhip, called the *Europe*, coming to St. *Helena*, with a new governor on board, was ſeized. And ſoon after, ſix others appearing in the ſight of the iſland, the *Engliſh* commodore, the better to confirm them in the opinion that their countrymen were ſtill in poſſeſſion, cauſed the *Dutch* flag to be diſplayed from the fort; which ſtratagem had

[r] Philip's Continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 588.

had ſo good an effect, that the *Eaſt India* ſhips approaching nearer, their vice-admiral and rear-admiral were taken, with an immenſe quantity of ſilver on board; as the others would likewiſe have been, had not the *Engliſh* diſcovered themſelves ſomewhat too ſoon. On the other ſide, the *Hollanders*, who attempted the iſland of *Bombay*, were beaten off with great loſs: but near *Maſulpatnam*, thirteen *Dutch* men of war, and ſome other veſſels, being ſomewhat raſhly engaged by ten *Engliſh* ſhips of war and merchant-men, there happened a long and bloody fight, which ended with the death of the *Dutch* vice-admiral *John Fredrickſon*, and the taking of three *Engliſh* merchant-ſhips. So that the loſs of the two nations was pretty equal, though poſſibly the *Dutch* eſteemed themſelves gainers. All this time commerce ſuffered exceedingly on both ſides. Plantations were ruined; and the *French*, who, before this war, had not either ſkill in navigation, or underſtood at all the art of fighting at ſea, as their own writers confeſs, improved in both, at the expence of *Britain* and *Holland*. Thus their end was plainly anſwered, while the maritime powers were fighting as much againſt their inclinations, as their intereſt, as it is neceſſary for us to ſhew *.

As the rancour which the *Dutch* had ſhewn againſt the *Engliſh*, and their moſt unjuſtifiable behaviour in reſpect to the inſults offered to the king's perſon, were not ſo much owing to their own prejudices, as to the arts of the *de Wits*; and as they plainly ſaw, that this war, and all its miſeries, came upon them through the vanity of their governors, and from the reſentment king *Charles* ſtill

* Columna Roſtrata, p. 230, 231. Baſnage, le Clerc.

had for the action at *Chatham*, contrived by *John*, and executed by *Cornelius de Wit*; ſo they turned their rage upon theſe two brothers, and the reſt of their faction; obliged the *States* to repeal the perpetual edict, which followed the concluſion of the laſt war, and took away the office of *Stadtholder* for ever; advanced the prince of *Orange* to that high dignity, and ſoon after, in a fit of popular fury, barbarouſly murdered the *de Wits*, as if the blood of theſe men could have reſtored that peace, which in truth, but for their ſchemes had never been loſt. Nay, to ſhew how thoroughly they were cured of thoſe fatal prepoſſeſſions which had brought upon them the naval force of ſo potent a neighbour, the people on the firſt arrival of the *Engliſh* ambaſſadors, thronged about them, and cried out, *God bleſs the king of* England! *God bleſs the prince of* Orange! *and the* Devil *take the* States. They hoped, and with great reaſon, that theſe teſtimonies of their ſincere deſire of peace, the ruin of the *Louveſtein* faction, and the advancement of his nephew the prince of *Orange*, would have pacified our king; and they were infinitely concerned when they found themſelves miſtaken. They did not, however, as before, vent their ſpleen in violent acts of perſonal malice, or diſreſpect towards the king; but contented themſelves with carrying on the war with courage and reſolution, and at the ſame time, omitted no opportunity of ſignifying their earneſt deſire of peace [t].

In *England*, the credit of the CABAL, which had been long loſt with the people, began to decline with the king; and

[t] Baſnage, Wicquefort, le Clere, Hiſtoire de Corn. et Jean de Wit, de Neuville, du Mont.

and the parliament, though very loyal, yet in granting a large ſupply to the king, would not own the *Dutch* war; but borrowed an expreſſion from the king's ſpeech, and declared what they gave to be for the king's extraordinary occaſions. They likewiſe fell warmly upon matters of religion, and paſſed an act, ſince ſufficiently famous, under the title of the *Teſt* act, which putting it out of the power of the papiſts to continue in any public employments, lord *Clifford* was ſoon after obliged to quit the treaſury, and the duke of *York* immediately declined the command of the fleet. Theſe were changes which had a natural tendency to bring things about again to their proper places: yet the *Dutch* war was carried on for another year, through the influences of their councils who began it; and, which muſt appear extremely odd to any man who is a ſtranger to the arts practiſed in courts, the very people who promoted the war, ſecretly practiſed the defeat of thoſe meaſures by which alone it could be purſued with honour. For this I know of no reaſons that have been aſſigned; and therefore I venture to ſpeak my own opinion, that it proceeded from a deſire in the miniſtry to gain a pretence for making a peace, from ſome want of ſucceſs in the war, when it was to be carried on under the command of prince *Rupert*, who, though he was too wiſe to be fond of this ſervice, was yet too honeſt, and too brave a man to neglect his duty [u].

NOTWITHSTANDING it was reſolved early in the year 1673, that prince *Rupert* ſhould command the fleet, yet no care was taken to fit it out in time, and much leſs

[u] Memoirs of what paſſed in Chriſtendom, from 1672, to 1679, by ſir William Temple, Welwood's memoirs, biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Rapin.

to furniſh him with ſuch officers as were agreeable to him. Sir *Robert Holmes* was laid aſide, though formerly ſo much careſſed, merely becauſe he was in his highneſs's favour, and ſir *Edward Spragge* ſent in his ſtead; who not long after went into *France* on a ſecret commiſſion, without prince *Rupert*'s knowing any thing of his buſineſs. With the like view, ſir *John Harman* was appointed his vice-admiral, when he was known to have ſurvived the great abilities he once had; and beſides, was ſo ill of the gout when he went on board, that he was not able to move either hand or foot, or ſo much as to ſtir out of his cabin. The prince expoſtulated in vain againſt theſe and many other hardſhips, of which he could obtain no redreſs; and therefore in the beginning of the month of *April*, hearing the *Dutch* fleet was at ſea, and intended to come and ſink many hulks filled with lead and ſtones in the mouth of the river, he with much induſtry got together as many of the fourth and fifth rate ſhips as he could, and with ſome fire-ſhips, ſailed out and prevented them. About the middle of *May*, the fleet, though indifferently provided, was ready for the ſea; but then the great difficulty was, how to join our good allies, the *French*, who were at *Breſt*, and who freely declared, that they were reſolved not to ſtir till our fleet was in the channel. As the *Dutch* laboured day and night to ſtrengthen their navy, his highneſs ſaw the neceſſity of joining the *French* early, and as a proof of his high courage, as well as great ſkill in maritime affairs, he paſſed in ſpight of the enemy, then riding at the *Gun-fleet*, through the paſſage called the *Narrow*, and this too againſt the wind; which ſo ſurprized the *Dutch*, that, ſeeing the end of their

their lying there loft, they ſailed back again to their own ports[w].

THIS deſign of our court was the ſame this year that it had been the laſt, that is to ſay, to make a deſcent on the *Dutch* coaſt; and with this view, there were a conſiderable number of land-troops put on board the navy. His majeſty and his royal highneſs the duke of *York*, viſited the fleet on the 19th of *May*, and in a council of war held in their preſence, it was reſolved to attack the enemy, even upon their own coaſt, in caſe they could not be provoked to quit it. In purſuance of this reſolution, prince *Rupert* ſtood over towards the coaſt of *Holland*, and found *de Ruyter* with the *Dutch* fleet, riding within the ſands at *Schoneveld*, in a line between the *Rand* and the *Stony Bank*, which was a very advantagious ſituation; but his highneſs perſiſted in his reſolution of obeying the poſitive orders he had received for attacking them. On the 28th in the morning, about nine o'clock, a detached ſquadron of thirty-five frigates and thirteen fire-ſhips, were ſent to draw the enemy out, which was very eaſily done; for *de Ruyter* preſently advanced in good order, and the *Engliſh* light ſhips retreating, put their own fleet in ſome diſorder. This engagement happened on very unequal terms: the confederate fleet conſiſted of eighty-four men of war, beſides fire-ſhips, divided into three ſquadrons, under the command of prince *Rupert*, count *d'Eſtrees*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*. The

[w] An exact relation of all the engagements, and actions of his majeſty's fleet, under the command of his highneſs prince Rupert, and of all circumſtances concerning this ſummer's expedition, 1673. written by a perſon in command of the fleet. London, 1673. 4to. Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

Dutch were ſcarce ſeventy men of war and frigates, under *de Ruyter*, *Tromp* and *Bankert* [x].

MOST of our own, and the *Dutch* hiſtorians agree, that the *Engliſh*, to prevent the *French* from running away, as they did before, intermixed their ſhips in this battle with their own: but in the account publiſhed under the direction of prince *Rupert*, the thing is put in quite another light; for there it is ſaid, that the *French* made little or no ſail, but kept in the rear, though they ſaw the *Dutch* fleet ſtretch to the north. By twelve in the morning, the detached ſquadron before-mentioned, engaged *Van Tromp*, and ſoon after the prince engaged *de Ruyter* almoſt two hours before the *French* began to fight at all. Then, ſays the ſame relation, count *d'Eſtrees* engaged *de Ruyter*, but quickly left him: neither did *de Ruyter* follow [y], but went to the aſſiſtance of *Tromp*, whom he very ſeaſonably relieved, which put an end to the feuds long ſubſiſting between them. The battle was very hard-fought on both ſides, inſomuch, that *Tromp* ſhifted his flag four times, from *The Golden-Lion* to *The Prince on Horſeback*, from *The Prince on Horſeback* to *The Amſterdam*, and from *The Amſterdam* to *The Gannet*; from on board which he dated his letter to *The States* in the evening. Sir *Edward Spragge*, and the earl of *Oſſory*, diſtinguiſhed themſelves on our ſide, by their extraordinary courage and conduct. Prince *Rupert* alſo performed wonders, conſidering that his ſhip was in a very bad condition, and took in ſo much water at her ports, that ſhe could not fire the guns of her lower tire. The

battle

[x] Kennet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Baſnage, de Neuville, vie de Ruyter, P. Daniel. [y] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 8, 9. Philip's chronicle, p. 592.

battle laſted till night, and then the *Dutch* are ſaid to have retired behind their ſands [z].

BOTH ſides, however, claimed the victory, *de Ruyter*, in his letter to the prince of *Orange*, ſays, *we judge abſolutely, that the victory is on the ſide of this ſtate, and of your highneſs.* *Tromp* carried the matter farther, and reported the *Engliſh* to have loſt ten or twelve ſhips. Prince *Rupunt*, in his letter to the earl of *Arlington*, ſays, *I thought it beſt to ceaſe the purſuit, and anchor where I now am.* As to the loſs on both ſides in this battle, it is reported, the *Dutch* loſt vice-admiral *Schram*, rear-admiral *Vlugh*, and ſix of their captains, and had one ſhip diſabled, which was loſt in her retreat. On our ſide fell the captains *Fowls*, *Finch*, *Tempeſt*, and *Worden*: colonel *Hamilton* had his legs ſhot off, and we had only two ſhips diſabled, none either ſunk or taken. The great doubt, is, as to the conduct of the *French*. Our writers are poſitive, that they behaved as ill as they did before; but the *Dutch* authors ſay, they fought very bravely. The truth ſeems to be, that the briſkeſt of the *French* officers made it their choice to fight among the *Engliſh*, where they behaved very gallantly, while thoſe remaining with count *d'Eſtrees*, took a great deal of care to keep themſelves and their ſhips ſafe: and yet they ſuffered more than either the *Engliſh* or *Dutch*; for they loſt two men of war, and five or ſix fire-ſhips, which they knew not how to manage. The *French* writers are pretty even with us; for they report, that matters were but indifferently managed on both ſides, and that prince *Rupert* did not puſh things as far as he might, becauſe he was averſe to the war. In one reſpect, the *Dutch* certainly had the ad-

[z] Philips, Kennet, Burnet, Columna roſtrata, Lediard.

vantage, since they prevented the descent intended upon their country, for which service, in case of a clear victory, count *Schomberg*, with six thousand men, lay ready at *Yarmouth* [a].

THE *Dutch*, as they were upon their own coast, had the advantage of receiving quick and great supplies; whereas, the wind prevented the *English* from obtaining the like advantages. Prince *Rupert*, however, did all that in his power lay, to put the fleet into a good condition, and believing, that the *Dutch* would not be long before they endeavoured to make use of their advantages, he went on board *The Royal Sovereign* in the evening of the 3d of *June*, where he went not to bed all night [b]. His foresight was very requisite; for on the 4th in the morning, the *Dutch* fleet, by this time, at least as strong as the confederates, bore down upon them as fast as the wind would permit. Sir *Edward Sprague* had so little notion of their fighting, that taking the brave earl of *Ossory*, his rear-admiral, with him, he went in his boat on board the admiral; which lost a great deal of time. As for prince *Rupert*, he was so much in earnest, that finding his ship's crew, which was but indifferent, raised his anchors very slowly, he ordered his cables to be cut, that he might make haste to meet the *Dutch*. Count *d'Estrees*, with the *White* squadron, betrayed no such great willingness to fight, as both our own and the *Dutch* writers agree; but kept as much as might be out of harm's way. At last, about five in the evening, *Sprague* and *Tromp* engaged with great fury. As for *de Ruyter*,

[a] Basnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, tom iii. p. 441. De Neuville, Kennet, Columna rostrata, Rapin. [b] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet, &c. p. 9, 10.

Ruyter, he ſhewed at firſt a deſign of coming to a cloſe engagement with the prince: but before he came within muſket-ſhot, he tacked and bore away; whence it was concluded, that he had ſuffered ſome conſiderable damage. *Sprague*, in the mean time, had forced *Tromp* to ſheer off. He then fell into vice-admiral *Sweer*'s diviſion, which he ſoon put into confuſion; and had a third engagement with *Tromp*, wherein he ſhot down his flag. The battle laſted till between ten and eleven at night, and then the *Dutch* ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt, and ſo it ended [c].

BOTH ſides claimed the victory as before. Prince *Rupert*, in his letter to the earl of *Arlington*, ſays expreſly, *that he purſued the* Dutch *from two till ſix the next morning, and ſeeing no likelihood of reaching them, before they got within their ſands, thought a farther purſuit needleſs.* He likewiſe adds, *that they went away in great diſorder, though he could not tell certainly what loſs they had received.* This is not altogether irreconcileable to *de Ruyter*'s letter, wherein he alſo claims the victory. *The next day* (ſays he) *we ſaw the enemies were gone, and doubt not but they made to the* Thames; *we ſatisfied ourſelves with purſuing them half way, and then returned to our former ſtation* [d]. In the ſame letter, however, he owns, that they began their retreat as ſoon as it was dark. The loſs on both ſides was pretty equal, but was very far from being conſiderable on either. Admiral *Van Tromp*, however, was ſo ill ſatisfied with the conduct of vice-admiral *Sweers*, that he accuſed him to *the ſtates* [e]. Some of the *Dutch* and *French* writers

[c] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 417. Vie de Ruyter, p. 593. De Neuville, Kennet, Echard, Rapin. [d] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p 323. [e] Baſnage, le Clerc, vie de Tromp.

ters pretend, that prince *Rupert* did not diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion, as he uſed to do; for which they ſuggeſt reaſons void of all foundation [f]. The truth is, the prince was for fighting the enemy again; but it was carried in a council of war, to ſail for the *Engliſh* coaſt, in order to obtain ſupplies, as well of ammunition as proviſion; through want of which, a great many captains complained loudly. Beſides, the fleet was ſo poorly manned, that if it had not been for the land-forces on board, they could not have fought at all: and theſe being for the moſt part new-raiſed men, we need not wonder they did not behave ſo well as our old ſeaſoned ſailors were wont to do. On the 8th of *June*, the fleet arrived at the *Buoy* in the *Nore*, and on the 14th, prince *Rupert* went to *London*, in order to give the king an account of the condition things were in, and to preſs for ſuch neceſſary ſupplies as might enable him to put to ſea again without delay [g].

THE *Dutch*, in the mean time, to countenance the pretences they made after the two laſt battles to victory, and (which was of much greater conſequence) to raiſe the ſpirits of the people, at ſuch a conjuncture, when the very being of the republic was at ſtake, gave out, that their fleet ſhould ſpeedily put to ſea again, and attempt ſome great thing. Inſulting the *Engliſh* coaſt was ſometimes talked of, and then again, the loſſes they had lately ſuſtained from the *French*, induced them to think of revenge on that ſide, and taking ſome maritime town in *France*, which might oblige king *Lewis* to abandon the ſiege of *Maeſtricht*, or incline him to give it up by way of exchange.

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[f] Baſnage, hiſtoire de France par P. Daniel. [g] An exact relation, &c. p. 10, 11.

change. But while they were amuſing themſelves and *de Ruyter* with theſe propoſals, they were informed that *Maeſtricht* was already taken, and that the combined fleet was likewiſe ready to put to ſea; ſo that all theſe grand ſchemes vaniſhed at once, and they were forced to attend to their old buſineſs of defending their own coaſts, and protecting their commerce [h].

ABOUT the middle of the month of *July*, prince *Rupert* was at ſea, having on board the troops intended for a deſcent, which was ſtill preſſed by the authors of the war [i]. His highneſs arrived on the *Dutch* coaſts on the 21ſt of the laſt mentioned month, and declining an engagement, ſtood along the ſhore, in order to find an opportunity for debarking his troops. On the 9th of *Auguſt*, he took a *Dutch Eaſt-India* ſhip richly laden. This induced *de Ruyter* to fight; and, therefore, he immediately bore down upon the *Engliſh* fleet. As ſoon as his highneſs perceived it, he commanded the *French* a particular courſe, and had thereby an opportunity of diſcerning what he was to expect from them in a time of action. They lay by twice that night; firſt about eleven o'clock, when the prince ſent to count *d'Eſtrees* to order him to make ſail, which he did till about one o'clock, and then laid his ſail to the maſt again, which gave a ſecond ſtop to the fleet, and obliged the prince to ſend him another meſſage. Theſe delays gave the *Dutch* admiral an opportunity of gaining the wind, which he did not neglect; but early on the 11th of *Auguſt*, bore down upon the confederates, as if he meant to force them to a battle, upon which his highneſs thought fit

[h] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 418. Le Clerc, de Neuville, du Mont, vie de Ruyter. [i] Philip's chronicle, p. 592. Kennet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Rapin.

ſe to ſail, and thereby brought the fleet into good order. He put the *French* in the van, himſelf in the centre, and Sir *Edward Spragge* in the rear; and in this diſpoſition the *French* lay full to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, they neglected [k]. The *Engliſh* fleet conſiſted of about ſixty men of war and frigates, the *French* of thirty, and the *Dutch* of ſeventy or thereabouts; ſo that the royal fleets were indiſputably ſuperior to that of the republic [l].

De Ruyter, bearing down with his fleet in three ſquadrons, prepared to attack the prince himſelf, while *Tromp* engaged *Spragge* and the *Blue* ſquadron, in which the *Engliſh* admiral obliged him, by laying his fore-top-ſail to his maſt, in order to ſtay for him, contrary to the expreſs order of the prince. This fondneſs for a point of honour, proved fatal to himſelf, as well as diſadvantageous to the fleet. *Banckert*, with his *Zeland* ſquadron, ſhould have engaged the *White*, commanded by *d'Eſtrees*; but, it ſeems, the *Dutch* underſtood their temper better than to give themſelves much trouble about them, for *Banckert* contented himſelf with ſending eight men of war and three fire-ſhips to attack the rear-admiral *de Martel*, who ſeemed to be the only man that had any real deſign to fight; and then the reſt of the *Zeland* ſquadron united themſelves to *de Ruyter*, and fell together upon prince *Rupert* [m].

REAR-admiral *de Martel*, being left not only by the body of the *French* fleet, but even by the captains of his own diviſion, was attacked by five *Dutch* ſhips at once. He

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[k] An exact relation of the actions of the Engliſh fleet under the command of prince Rupert, p. 13. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata. [l] Baſnage, le Clerc, Leven van Tromp. [m] An exact relation, &c. p. 14. Baſnage, vie de Ruyter.

He fought them for two hours, and that with ſuch courage and ſucceſs, that having diſabled one, the reſt were glad to ſheer off, and he rejoined the *White* ſquadron; where expoſtulating with the captains of his own diviſion, for deſerting him ſo baſely, they told him plainly, they had orders from the admiral, not to obſerve his motions: and, indeed, after he was in the fleet, though ſome opportunities offered, he thought of fighting no more, and on his return to *France*, was ſent to the *Baſtile* for what he had done[n].

THE battle between *de Ruyter* and the *Red* ſquadron, began about eight o'clock in the morning, and a multitude of circumſtances concurred to threaten the *Engliſh* admiral with inevitable ruin. The *French*, not ſatisfied with being meer ſpectators of a very unequal combat from the beginning, ſuffered the ſhips which had attacked *de Martel*, to paſs quietly to their own fleet; ſo that now, *de Ruyter's* and *Bankert's* ſquadrons were both upon the *Red*. Sir *Edward Sprague*, intent on his perſonal quarrel with *Van Tromp*, had fallen to the *Leeward* ſeveral leagues with the *Blue* ſquadron, and to compleat prince *Rupert's* misfortune, the enemy found means to intercept his own rear-admiral, Sir *John Chichele*, with his diviſion; ſo that by noon, his highneſs was wholly ſurrounded by the *Dutch*, being preſſed by *de Ruyter* and his diviſion on his lee-quarter, an admiral with two flags more on his weather-quarter, and the *Zeland* ſquadron on his broad-ſide to windward. Thus the *Dutch* wiſely employed their force againſt the enemy

[n] The relation before-mentioned, p. 15. Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, &c. We ſhall examine this more fully, when we come to ſpeak of the conſequences of this battle.

enemy that would fight, and took no more notice of the *French* fleet, than the *French* did of them, or of prince *Rupert* [o].

His highneſs, in the midſt of theſe diſappointments, behaved with ſuch intrepidity; and encouraged all his officers ſo effectually, by his own example, that, by degrees, he cleared himſelf of his enemies, rejoined Sir *John Chichele*, and by two o'clock, had time to think of the *Blue* ſquadron, which was now at three leagues diſtance; and not hearing their guns well plied, he made all the ſail he could towards them, in order to unite and relieve them. *De Ruyter* perceiving his highneſs's deſign, left firing, and bore away alſo with his whole fleet, to the relief of *Tromp*; ſo that both fleets ran down ſide by ſide, within range of cannon-ſhot, and yet without firing on either part. About four, the prince joined the *Blue* ſquadron, which he found in a very tattered condition [p].

At the beginning of the fight, *Tromp*, in *The Golden Lion*, and Sir *Edward Sprague*, in *The Royal Prince*, fought ſhip to ſhip. The *Dutch* admiral, however, would not come to a cloſe fight, which gave him a great advantage; for *Sprague*, who had more than his compliment on board, ſuffered much by the enemies cannon; and having the wind and ſmoke in his face, could not make ſo good uſe

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[o] The exact relation, &c. In this piece we have not only the moſt authentic, but, I believe, the only authentic account of this engagement, now extant. Prince Rupert's letters were uſually publiſhed, but what he wrote on this occaſion, was not judged convenient for the people's peruſal. The Dutch narrations were calculated to ſerve a turn, and that penned by M. de Martel, for the information of the French king, was, for many good reaſons, ſuppreſſed. [p] Philips, Kennet, Burchet, Columna roſtrata, hiſtory of the Dutch war.

uſe of his own, as he would otherwiſe have done. After three hours warm fight, *The Royal Prince* was ſo diſabled, that Sir *Edward* was forced to go on board *The St. George*, and *Tromp* quitted his *Golden Lyon*, to hoiſt his flag on board *The Comet*, where the battle was renewed with incredible fury. The great aim of the *Dutch* admiral, was to take, or ſink *The Royal Prince*; but the earl of *Offory*, and Sir *John Kempthorne*, together with *Sprague* himſelf, ſo effectually protected the diſabled veſſel, that none of the enemy's fire-ſhips could come near her, though this was often attempted. At laſt, *The St. George*, being terribly torn, and in a manner diſabled, Sir *Edward Sprague* deſigned to go on board a third ſhip; but before he was got ſix boats length, a ſhot, which paſſed through *The St. George*, took his boat; and though they immediately rowed back, yet, before they could get within reach of the ropes that were thrown out from *The St. George*, the boat ſunk, and Sir *Edward* was drowned [q].

WHEN prince *Rupert* drew near the *Blue* ſquadron, he found the admiral diſabled, the vice-admiral lying to the windward, mending his ſails and rigging; the rear-admiral a-ſtern of *The Royal Prince*, between her and the enemy, bending his new ſails, and mending his rigging. The firſt thing his highneſs did, was to ſend two frigates, to take *The Royal Prince* in tow. He then ſteered in between the enemy and the lame ſhips, and perceiving that *Tromp* had tacked, and was coming down again upon the *Blue* ſquadron, he made a ſignal for all the ſhips of that ſquadron to join him: but it was in vain; for except the two flags, Sir

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[q] Baſnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc. tom. iii. p. 343. De Neuville, tom. iv. p. 204.

Sir *John Kempthorne*, and the earl of *Offory*, there was not one in a condition to move. Still the *French* looked on with all the coolneſs imaginable, and notwithſtanding the prince put out the *Blue* flag upon the mizen-peek, which was the ſignal to attack, ſet down in the general inſtructions for fighting, and known, not only to all the *Engliſh* captains, but alſo to thoſe of the *White* ſquadron, yet they ſtill remain'd inactive. But to give ſome kind of colour to his conduct, the count *d'Eſtrees*, after the battle was in a manner over, ſent to know what this ſignal meant *.

ABOUT five in the evening, *de Ruyter*, with all his flags and fleet, came cloſe up with the prince, and then began a very ſharp engagement; his highneſs had none to ſecond him, but the vice and rear of the *Blue*; Sir *John Harman*, captain *Davis*, and captain *Stout*, of his own diviſion; Sir *John Holmes* in *The Rupert*, captain *Legge* in *The Royal Katherine*, Sir *John Berry* in *The Reſolution*, Sir *John Ernle* in *The Henry*, Sir *Roger Strickland* in *The Mary*, and captain *Cartar* in *The Crown*; in all, about thirteen ſhips. The engagement was very cloſe and bloody, 'till about ſeven o'clock, when his highneſs forced the *Dutch* fleet into great diſorder, and ſent in two fire-ſhips amongſt them, to encreaſe it; at the ſame time, making a ſignal

* An exact relation, &c. p. 18, 19. where it is affirmed, that count d'Eſtrees ſent this meſſage after night had parted the fleets. The officer, who wrote that account, ſays very judiciouſly, that the ſending to enquire the meaning of the ſignal, was cunningly done: but one of de Ruyter's ſailors ſeems to have had as much penetration as the French miniſtry had artifice; for upon one of his companions aſking him, what the French meant by keeping at ſuch a diſtance, *why, you fool*, ſaid he, *they have hired the* Engliſh *to fight for them, and all their buſineſs here, is, to ſee that they* earn *their* wages. So tranſparent to honeſt men, are the boaſted politics of this court!

ſignal for the *French* to bear down, which, if they had done, a total defeat muſt have followed. But, as they took no notice of it, and the prince ſaw that moſt of his ſhips were in no condition to keep the ſea long, he wiſely provided for their ſafety, by making eaſy ſail towards our own coaſts [s]. This battle ended as doubtful as the reſt; for the *Dutch* claimed the victory now, as they did before, and with as much reaſon. The truth is, it ſeems, to have been a drawn battle; ſince the *Dutch*, notwithſtanding all their advantages, did not take or ſink one *Engliſh* man of war, and killed but two captains, Sir *William Reeves* and captain *Havard*, beſides the gallant Sir *Edward Sprague*, and no great number of private men. On their ſide they loſt two vice-admirals, *Sweers* and *Liefde*; three captains, and about one thouſand private men. The benefit, indeed, they drew from this battle, was great; for they opened their ports, which before the battle, were entirely blocked up, and put an end to all thoughts of an invaſion. [t].

It would be unjuſt to conclude this account of the laſt battle fought in this laſt *Dutch* war, without taking particular notice of the grounds upon which I have repreſented the conduct of the *French* in ſo bad a light. I muſt, in the firſt place, declare, that I have no intent to aſperſe this nation in general, much leſs to injure the particular character of the noble perſon who commanded, and who afterwards gave ſignal proofs of his true courage and able conduct as a ſea-officer, as in this engagement, he gave the

[s] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 593. Kennet, Echard, Burchet. Rapin. [t] Baſnage annales de provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 420. Le Clerc, tom. iii. p. 345. Quincy, tom. i. p. 359.

higheſt demonſtration of his ſteadineſs in obeying orders. Thoſe I blame, are ſuch as drew up his inſtructions, and conſequently were anſwerable for his behaviour. The *French* were, and are, a brave nation; but it has been their great misfortune to ſuffer by perfidious miniſters, who have broke their national faith, both in war and peace, ſo often, that it is in a manner become proverbial, like the *Fides Punica* of old. For the truth of what I have advanced in the preſent caſe, I have the teſtimony of friends and enemies, nay of themſelves too, which I think is ſufficient to put the matter out of doubt. Their behaviour was complained of by prince *Rupert*, in ſuch ſtrong terms, that his letter was ſuppreſſed; though at other times his accounts, which were conſtantly very plain and very modeſt, were inſtantly publiſhed [u]. All the *Dutch* writers agree in giving the ſame account [w]; and, indeed, if they did not, the conduct of their admirals might ſufficiently juſtify their ſenſe of the thing, ſince it is impoſſible to conceive that admiral *Bankert* would have ſent eight ſmall ſhips to attack a ſquadron of thirty large ones, if from their former conduct, and their countenance then, he had not been well aſſured that fighting was not much their buſineſs. Laſtly, poor admiral *Martel*, who was too much a man of honour to be in the *French* miniſters ſecrets, wrote a fair relation of the battle, and ſent it to the *French* court, concluding with theſe words. "That if "count *d'Eſtrees* would have fallen in with a fair wind "upon *de Ruyter* and *Bankert*, at their firſt engaging, "when in numbers they much exceeded the prince; "they muſt of neceſſity have been encloſed between his "highneſs

[u] Columna Roſtrata, p. 243. Secret hiſtory of Europe, hiſtory of the Dutch war. [w] Baſnage, le Clerc, vie de Ruyter, &c.

" highneſs and *d'Eſtrees*, and ſo the enemy would have " been entirely defeated [z]."

Soon after this battle, the *Engliſh* returned into the *Thames*, and the *French* ſquadron, about the middle of *September*, ſailed home; but ſuffered ſo much by a ſtorm, that it was the middle of *November* before they reached *Breſt*. When prince *Rupert* returned to court, he joined his repreſentations to thoſe of other worthy patriots, who were deſirous that peace ſhould be reſtored, to which the king was now no longer averſe. There had, through the mediation of *Sweden*, been ſome conferences held at *Cologne*; but they had not proved ſo effectual as was expected. The *States-General* alſo had written to his majeſty, but in terms that, inſtead of making things better, had rather widened the breach. After this battle, however, they condeſcended to write another letter, wherein they ſhewed their earneſt deſire of peace, and their true ſenſe of the obſtacles which had hitherto retarded it. In this letter they ſpoke very freely to the king of his miniſters, and of his ally; they ſhewed him how glorious, as well as how advantageous a ſtep, a ſeparate peace muſt prove, which would give umbrage only to the *French*, and content all *Europe* beſides: and further to incline his majeſty to this, they ſuggeſted the baſe behaviour of his allies in the late ſea-fights, and the offer made them by *France*, of a ſeparate peace, without any reſpect had to his majeſty. Theſe, with the propounding of fair conditions, had ſuch weight

[z] Exact relation, &c. p. 17. P. Daniel ſlurs over all theſe battles in his hiſtoire de la Milice Francoiſe, tom. ii. p. 489. and again in his hiſtoire de France, tom. x. p. cxi, he crowds all three battles into a paragraph of ſo many lines, and ſays, they were fought with little order, and ſmall regard to reputation by all parties.

with the king, that he propoſed the terms offered, to his parliament, and on their paſſing a vote, *humbly deſiring him to proceed in a treaty with the* States, *in order to a ſpeedy peace*, he directed ſir *William Temple* to negotiate it with the marquiſs *del Freſno*, the *Spaniſh* embaſſador, who was provided with full powers from the *States-General* for that purpoſe, and at three-meetings the treaty was concluded and ſigned to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties[y].

WHILE this treaty was negotiating at home, there happened an accident in the *Mediterranean*, which, though of little conſequence in itſelf, yet from certain circumſtances that attended it, deſerves to be recorded. The *Dutch* admiral *Evertz*, being in thoſe ſeas with his ſquadron, it happened that captain *de Wit* in a man of war, called the *Schaerlaes*, which carried thirty-ſix pieces of cannon, and one hundred and forty men, met with captain *Harman*, in the *Tyger*, a ſmall *Engliſh* frigate, which had been careening at *Tangier*, and came with him into the harbour of *Cadiz*, where the *Dutchman* alſo careened. The *Spaniards* jeſting with captain *de Wit*, and telling him that he durſt not fight the *Engliſh* captain, and that this made them ſo good friends; admiral *Evertz* heard it, and thereupon told *de Wit*, that he muſt, for the honour of his nation, challenge captain *Harman*. He did ſo, and his admiral lent him, that he might come off with glory, ſixty mariners, and ſeventy ſoldiers. Captain *Harman* had but one hundred eighty-four men in all; however, at a days notice he ſtood to ſea, and fairly engaged the *Dutch* frigate in ſight of the town. Their ſhips were within piſtol ſhot

[y] Baſnage, le Clerc, vie de Ruyter, Temple's memoirs, Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

ſhot before either of them fired; and then captain *Harman*'s broadſide brought the *Dutchman*'s main-maſt by the board, and killed and wounded him fourſcore men. The *Engliſh* captain followed his advantage, entered the enemy with his reſolute crew, and became maſter of the ſhip in an hour's time; but ſhe was quite diſabled, and had one hundred and forty men in her killed and wounded. The *Engliſh* had only nine killed and fifteen wounded; amongſt whom was, their brave captain, by a muſket-ſhot, which went in at his left eye, and out between the ear and the jawbone; of which wound he was well cured, and lived ſeveral years after[z]. Thus the maritime powers, though their intereſt was, and muſt ever be, the ſame, did their utmoſt, from falſe notions of honour, to deſtroy each other, and anſwer the ends of their common enemy, 'till the voice of the people both in *England* and *Holland*, rouzed their governors to a juſt ſenſe of their common danger, and procured thereby an alliance which has laſted ever ſince.

THIS treaty of peace was ſigned at *London*, *February* the 9th, 1674, and thereby thoſe differences were all adjuſted, which had ſo often, and ſo long, diſturbed both ſtates[a]. In the firſt place, the buſineſs of the flag was regulated according to the king's ſenſe of his rights, which the *States* till now would never admit. In their treaty with *Cromwell*, they did indeed ſtipulate, that their ſhips ſhould ſalute the *Engliſh*; but then this was expreſſed in ſuch looſe terms, as afforded the *Dutch* room to ſuggeſt, that the doing

[z] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 595. [a] Life of ſir William Temple, p. 200. Kennet's complete hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 326. See alſo the propoſals from the States-General to the king of Great-Britain, printed by authority 1673-4.

ing it was no more than a point of civility. As the treaties of 1662, 1667, and 1668, were all in a manner built on this foundation, the caſe had been hitherto the ſame, and aſſerted ſo to be by the *States:* but now the thing was put out of diſpute, and what was before ſtiled courteſy, was here confeſſed to be a right; the extent of the *Britiſh* ſeas were particularly mentioned, and the *States* undertook, that not only ſeparate ſhips, but whole fleets ſhould ſtrike their ſails to any fleet or ſingle ſhip carrying the king's flag, as the cuſtom was in the days of his anceſtors [b]. The *Eaſt-India* trade was likewiſe ſettled, ſo as to prevent ſubſequent diſputes, and leave neither party at liberty to encroach on the other. As to leſſer matters, commiſſioners were to meet on both ſides at *London* to decide them; and in caſe they did not agree in the ſpace of three months, then the queen of *Spain* was to arbitrate. Such of the planters as had been reſtrained by the *Dutch* at *Surinam*, were to be left at their full liberty to retire, if they thought fit, with their effects. Places taken on both ſides were by this treaty to be reſtored, and the *States-General* were to pay his majeſty, eight hundred thouſand patacoons at four payments; the firſt immediately after the ratification of this treaty, and the other three by annual payments. By a particular treaty it was agreed, that the *Engliſh* regiments in the *French* ſervice ſhould be ſuffered to wear out for want of recruits; and by a ſecret article it was ſettled, that neither ſide ſhould aſſiſt the enemies

[b] The whole of this matter is very judiciouſly explained by biſhop Parker, in his hiſtory of his own times, p. 158. and the entire article is to be found in the propoſals made by the ſtates themſelves; which ſhews how great a point was carried in the concluding this treaty.

enemies of the other by land or sea[c]. We may guess how acceptable this treaty was to the *States*, by the present made to the *Spanish* ambassador for negotiating it, which was sixteen thousand crowns, and the gratification of six thousand which were given to don *Bernardo de Salinas*[d]. Thus ended the last of our *Dutch* wars, which, though made against the interest and will of the people, terminated highly to their advantage; whereas the former war, though it was begun at the instance of the nation, ended but indifferently: so little correspondence is there between the grounds and issues of things.

The *Corsairs* of *Tripoli* having for some time committed great outrages on the *English* trade, sir *John Narborough* was sent in the latter end of the year 1675, to reduce them to reason. The 24th of *January* following, sir *John* came before the place, and having blocked up the port in the night, so that no ship could go in or come out, he manned all his boats, and sent them under the command of lieutenant *Shovel* (afterwards sir *Cloudesly*, the famous admiral) into the harbour, where he seized the guard-ship, and afterwards burnt the following vessels, which were all that lay at that time in the harbour, *viz.* the *White Eagle crowned*, a fifty-gun ship; the *Looking-Glass*, which carried six and thirty; the *Santa Clara*,

[c] I take what I have here given the reader from a very accurate and authentic writer, who has left us the best political memoirs of Europe that are extent: I mean the Sieur du Mont in his memoirs pour Servir a la hiſtoire de la Paix de Ryſwick, tom. ii. p. 272, &c. [d] Baſnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville. It is proper to obſerve, that though the treaty was negotiated by sir William Temple, it was not signed by him, but by the following committee of council, viz. the lord-keeper Finch, the lord treaſurer Latimer, (afterwards earl of Danby, and duke of Leeds) the duke of monmouth, the duke of Ormonde, the earl of Arlington, and ſecretary Coventry.

of twenty-four; and a *French* veſſel of twenty: after which he ſafely returned to the fleet without the loſs of ſo much as one man. This extraordinary action ſtruck the *Tripolines* with amazement, and made them inſtantly ſue for peace; which, however, did not immediately take place, becauſe they abſolutely refuſed to make good the loſſes ſuſtained by the *Engliſh*. Sir *John* thereupon cannonaded the town, and finding that ineffectual, landed a body of men about twenty leagues from thence, and burnt a vaſt magazine of timber, which was to have ſerved for the building of ſhips. When all this failed of reducing theſe people, ſir *John* ſailed to *Malta*, and after remaining there for ſome time, returned ſuddenly upon the enemy, and diſtreſſed them ſo much, that they were glad to ſubmit to a peace on the terms preſcribed [e]. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, ſome of their *Corſairs* returning into port, not only expreſſed a great diſlike thereto, but actually expelled the *Dey* for making it, and began to take all *Engliſh* ſhips as before. Sir *John* being ſtill in the *Mediterranean*, and having notice of what paſſed, ſuddenly appeared with eight frigates before *Tripoli*, and began with ſuch violence to batter the place, that the inhabitants were glad once more to renew the peace, and to deliver up the authors of the late diſturbance to condign puniſhment [f].

In 1679, we had ſome differences with the *Algerines* on account of their making prize of *Engliſh* ſhips, under pretence that they were not furniſhed with proper paſſes. Upon this, ſir *John Narborough* was ſent with a ſquadron to demand ſatisfaction; which he procured as it muſt always

[e] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 536. Burchet, Columna Roſtrata. [f] Columna Roſtrata, p. 252.

ways be procured by dint of force. This peace, however, did not laſt long, for in a year or two they committed the like outrages: upon which commodore *Herbert*, afterwards ſo well known to the world by the title of earl of *Torrington*, went thither with a few ſhips, and compelled them to make ſatisfaction for what was paſſed, and to give the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their acting in another manner for the future. This expedition which was performed in 1682, proved the laſt in this reign [s].

THERE is yet one tranſaction more which calls for our notice, and that is, the demolition of the ſtrong fortreſs of *Tangier*. We have already ſhewed how that place came into the hands of the *Engliſh*, and what pains were taken to preſerve it. In the ſpace of twenty years it coſt the nation an immenſe ſum of money; and yet many doubted, all things conſidered, whether it was of any real uſe to us or not. When we firſt had it, the harbour was very dangerous; to remedy which there was a fine mole run out at a vaſt expence. Several ſocieties or copartnerſhips, which undertook to perfect this work, raiſed great ſums for that purpoſe, and miſcarried. At laſt, however, all difficulties were in a manner overcome, and this work finiſhed to ſuch a heigth, that it might be ſaid to vie with thoſe of the *Romans*. But the houſe of commons in 1680 having expreſſed a diſlike to the management of the garriſon kept there, which they ſuſpected to be no better than a nurſery for a popiſh army; and diſcovering withal no deſire of providing for it any longer, the king began to entertain thoughts of quitting it, and bringing home his forces from thence. He endeavoured to keep

[s] Kennet, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata.

keep this as ſecret as poſſible; however, the lord *Arlington* is ſaid to have given ſome hint of his majeſty's intention to the *Portugueze* embaſſador, who expreſſed great diſcontent thereat, and was very deſirous that it ſhould be again delivered into the hands of his maſter. But king *Charles*, doubting whether the crown of *Portugal* would be able to maintain the poſſeſſion of it againſt the *Moors*, and foreſeeing the terrible conſequences of ſuch a port falling into their hands, notwithſtanding the offer of large ſums, perſiſted ſteadily in his firſt reſolution. In 1683, the then lord *Dartmouth*, was conſtituted captain-general of his majeſty's forces in *Africa*, and governor of *Tangier*, and ſent as admiral of an *Engliſh* fleet to demoliſh the works, blow up the mole, and bring home the garriſon from thence; all which he very effectually performed, ſo that the harbour is ſtill entirely ſpoiled, and though now in the hands of the *Moors*, it is a very inconſiderable place. One circumſtance attending its demolition deſerves to be remarked, becauſe it ſhews the temper and ſpirit of the king. He directed a conſiderable number of new-coined crown-pieces to be buried in the ruins, that if (through the viciſſitudes of fortune, to which all ſublunary things are liable) this city ſhould ever be reſtored, there might remain ſome memorial of its having had once the honour of depending on the crown of *Britain*. Thus, through diſputes between the king and parliament, the *Britiſh* nation loſt a place and port of great importance [h].

As it is on all hands confeſſed, that never any *Engliſh*, perhaps I might ſay any prince, without diſtinction of countries

[h] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 376, 408. Burchet, Burnet, Echard, Rapin.

countries, underſtood maritime affairs ſo well as *Charles* the ſecond did; ſo it cannot ſurprize any intelligent reader when we aſſert, that the *Engliſh* navy received very great advantages from his ſkill and care in matters of this nature. It muſt indeed be allowed, that he found the fleet at his reſtauration in an excellent ſituation, and abundance of very able men employed therein; and it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, to the honour of his government, that he preſerved them in their ſeveral poſts without any reſpect to party; which, without queſtion, contributed not a little to the increaſe of our naval power [i]. How intent he was for the firſt ten years of his reign, in promoting whatever had a tendency this way, appears from all the candid hiſtories of thoſe times, from the collections of orders, and other public papers relating to the direction of the navy, while the duke of *York* was admiral, publiſhed of late years, and in every body's hands [k]; and in a ſhort and narrow compaſs from the ſpeech made by the lord keeper *Bridgman*, who affirmed, that from 1660 to 1670, the charge of the navy had never amounted to leſs than 500,000 *l.* a year [l]. But after the ſecond *Dutch* war, the king

[i] Such as ſir George Ayſcue, ſir William Batten, ſir John Lawſon, ſir Richard Stayner, ſir William Penn, and many others.

[k] The title of this book is, Memoirs of the Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval, from the year 1660 to 1673, by his royal highneſs James duke of York, London, 1729, 8vo.

[l] Happy future ſtate of England, by ſir Peter Pett, p. 185. The deſign of this ſpeech was to induce the houſe of commons to grant a ſupply for this particular ſervice of increaſing the royal navy, and after having ſhewn the great importance of ſuch a proceeding, his lordſhip goes on thus. "My lords and gentlemen, his majeſty "is confident you will not be contented to ſee him deprived "of all the advantages which he might procure hereby to his "kingdoms, nay even to all Chriſtendom, in the repoſe and quiet "of it. That you will not be content alone to ſee your neigh-

"bours

king grew more saving in this article; and yet in 1678, when the nation in general expected a war with *France*, his navy was in excellent order. The judicious Mr. *Pepys*, secretary to the admiralty, has left us a particular account of its state in the month of *August* that year; which as it is very short, I think it may not be amiss to insert [m].

ABSTRACT *of the* FLEET.

Rates.	Nr.	Men.
1	5	3135
2	4	1555
3	16	5010
4	33	6460
5	12	1400
6	7	423
Fire-ships	6	340
Total	83	18323

Of these, seventy-six were in sea-pay, the store-houses and magazines in compleat order; and, which is still more to the purpose, thirty capital ships were then actually in building, (eleven newly launched, and nineteen upon the stocks)

" bours strengthening themselves in shipping, so much more than " they were before, and at home to see the government struggling " every year with difficulties, and not able to keep up our navies " equal with theirs. He finds that by his accounts from the year " 1660 to the late war, the ordinary charge of the fleet, *communibus annis*, came to about 500,000 l. a year, and it cannot be supported with less."

[m] Memoirs relating to the state of the royal navy for ten years, by Samuel Pepys, Esq; p. 6.

ſtocks) and that the reader may frame a juſt notion of the increaſe of the navy during this part of the king's reign; I muſt obſerve, that at *Midſummer* 1660, the whole fleet conſiſted but of ſixty-five veſſels of all ſizes, as appears by an original letter under the hand of Mr. ſecretary *Coventry* [n]. But after this period of time, I mean the date of the liſt, the king finding himſelf extremely uneaſy at home, and conſequently in a ſituation perplexed enough abroad, was perſuaded to alter the management of his navy; which he did in 1679, in order to make himſelf eaſy in his civil government, ſir *Anthony Deane*, Mr. *Pepys*, and ſeveral other old officers of the navy having been ſo unfortunate to incur the diſpleaſure of the houſe of commons, by whom they were committed [o].

THIS new adminiſtration, with reſpect to naval affairs, ſubſiſted for about five years, and if it had continued five years longer, would in all probability have remedied the evils it had introduced, by wearing out the whole royal navy, and ſo leaving no room for future miſtakes; and a juſt ſenſe of this, induced the king in 1684, to reſume the management of the fleet into his own hands, to reſtore again moſt of the old officers, and to undertake the bringing things once more into order: but before any conſiderable progreſs could be made in ſo great a work, his majeſty died, and left the care of it to his ſucceſſor [p].

THE trade of the nation I have heretofore ſhewed to have been in a very declining ſituation at the time of the reſtauration; I have alſo obſerved, that it was much helped

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[n] Memoirs of Engliſh affairs, chiefly naval, p. 12. [o] The hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for Richard Chandler, vol. i. p. 260. [p] Memoirs of the royal navy, by Mr. Pepys, p. 10.

helped by ſeveral treaties of peace made ſoon after [q]; and though I am far from denying, that through the king's too ſtrict intercourſe with *France*, his running counter, in many reſpects, to the intereſts as well as inclinations of his beſt ſubjects, and that diſſolute ſpirit of luxury and corruption, which, if not introduced, was at leaſt countenanced and encouraged by the king's temper and practice, might hinder our trade from reaching that heighth which otherwiſe it would have done. Yet, upon the whole, I am fully perſuaded, that during his whole reign we were very great gainers there, and this I think, I can clearly make appear. In the firſt place, the firſt *Dutch* war was moſt certainly undertaken for the ſake of trade; nor can it be conceived, that in the ſecond the *Dutch* would have puſhed as they did, from any other motive, than an apprehenſion that from rivals, we ſhould become their ſuperiors in commerce, which from the genius of their ſtate, they could not patiently permit. In the next place, let us conſider the mighty loſſes ſuſtained in the ſpace of fifteen years by the plague, the fire of *London*, and the two *Dutch* wars. They have been computed, by men much better ſkilled in political arithmetic than I pretend to be, at little leſs than twenty-ſeven millions [r]. But ſuppoſing them to have amounted only to twenty millions, the nation muſt have been reduced to the loweſt ebb of poverty and diſtreſs, if ſhe had not been relieved by the vaſt profits of her foreign trade. This it was that repaired the loſs

[q] See p. 224, and 232. [r] By ſir William Petty, in his political arithmetick, who, without queſtion underſtood the grounds of that art, as well as ever any man did; Dr. d'Avenant alſo was of the ſame mind, and ſays expreſly, that theſe loſſes might be computed at between twenty-four and twenty-ſeven millions. Diſcourſes on the public revenue and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 44.

loſs of our people in a ſurprizing manner, raiſed the city of *London* like a *Phœnix*, brighter and more beautiful for having been in flames, and increaſed our ſhipping to double what it was at the time of the king's coming in. Theſe are facts agreed on by the greateſt men that ever handled ſubjects of this nature, grounded on ſuch evidence as could not deceive them, and juſtified by effects which even poſterity may contemplate, and from thence diſcern the wiſdom and truth of their computations [s].

THE *Eaſt-India* company were favoured and protected, eſpecially in the beginning of this reign; the *African* company was in the zenith of its glory, and brought in vaſt profits to the proprietors, and the nation [t]. Many of our plantations were ſettled by his majeſty's favour, ſuch as *Penſilvania*, *Carolina*, &c. [u]. Others were reſtored to this nation by his arms, ſuch as *New-York*, and the *Jerſeys* [w], and all *Aſia* had ſuch encouragement, that they made quite another figure than in former times, as we may gueſs from what a modern writer (no way partial to this prince) ſays of *Barbadoes*; that, during his reign, it maintained four hundred ſail of ſhips, produced two hundred thouſand pounds a year in clear profit to this nation, and maintained one hundred thouſand people there and here [x]. Theſe are high calculations; but I believe the perſon who made them, is able to juſtify them, and therefore I make no queſtion

[s] See Pett's happy future ſtate of England, ſir William Petty's political arithmetic, and his eſſays, Dr. d'Avenant's book before-cited, and his eſſay upon the probable methods of making people gainers in the balance of trade. [t] See a general treatiſe of naval trade and commerce, vol. ii. chap. 5. [u] Curſon's compendium of the laws and government of England, p. 512. [w] See the Britiſh empire in America, under thoſe titles. [x] Ibid. p. 166, 167.

queſtion that ſir *William Petty* was in the right, when he calculated our exports at ten millions *per Annum* [y]. This agrees very well with the ſtate of our cuſtoms, which fell then little ſhort of a million, though in 1660, they were farmed for four hundred thouſand pounds, as they were once let by queen *Elizabeth* at thirty-ſix thouſand. Dr. *d'Avenant*, an excellent judge in theſe matters, having duly weighed all the calculations I have mentioned, and compared them with all the lights he had received from long experience, pronounces the ballance of trade to have been in our favour, in this reign, two millions a year; and leſs I think could not well be [z]. The bounds preſcribed to this work, will not allow me to ſay more on this ſubject; and I muſt have violated the duty I owe to truth and my country, if I had ſaid leſs.

WE are now to ſpeak particularly of the moſt remarkable among thoſe illuſtrious perſons, whoſe gallant actions at ſea have been already occaſionally mentioned in this hiſtory; men, who, in point of military and civil virtues, have deſerved as well of their country as men could do, and whoſe fame therefore ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity with due reſpect. Amongſt theſe, in the firſt place, let us take notice of him to whoſe loyalty we owe the virtues and ſervices of all the reſt.

General GEORGE MONK, *duke of* Albemarle, *and knight of the garter.*

IF the intrinſic worth of a man's actions were ſufficient to ſecure the applauſe of ſucceeding times, there would be

[y] Political Arithmetic, p. 244. [z] Diſcourſes on the public revenues and trade of England, vol. ii. p. 47.

be little occaſion to enter minutely into the memoirs of this great ſoldier and ſeaman. And on the other hand, if there be any thing laudable in removing thoſe ſhades which the envious are always labouring to throw over the reputation of the worthy; then certainly no man's life would claim greater attention, than his of whom I am ſpeaking, the merit of whoſe ſervices ſcarce raiſed him more friends, than the glory of them excited detractors. He was by birth a gentleman, deſcended on the father's ſide from an ancient and honourable family, ſettled from the time of *Henry* III. at *Potheridge* in *Devonſhire*, and by the female line, ſprung from the victorious *Edward* IV[a]. He was the ſecond ſon of ſir *Thomas Monk*, a man whoſe qualities and virtues deſerved a better fortune; for time in doing honour to his family, had almoſt worn out his eſtate. His ſon *George* was born on the 6th of *December* 1608, and his father having not much wealth to give, intended him from his childhood for the ſword, and therefore beſtowed on him ſuch an education as was requiſite to quali-

[a] The firſt notice that I believe the world ever had of this matter, was from a pamphlet, printed in 1659, entitled, "The pedigree "and deſcent of his excellency general Monk, ſetting forth, how he "is deſcended from king Edward III. by a branch and ſlip of the "white roſe, the houſe of York; and likewiſe his extraction from "Richard king of the Romans." This was publiſhed with a view, I ſuppoſe, to countenance a deſign ſome people had entertained of inclining the general to aſſume the crown himſelf, inſtead of reſtauring the king. The fact, however, is true, as to his deſcent, which may be ſeen in Dugdale, and other authors. But this deſcent, could not poſſibly give him any title to the crown, ſince the lady Frances Plantagenet was firſt married into the family of Baſſet, and had iſſue of that marriage; and, which is ſtill more to the purpoſe, her father Arthur, viſcount L'iſle, was only natural ſon to Edward IV. We cannot wonder, therefore, that ſo thinking a man as general Monk, deſpiſed ſuch a pittiful ſtrain of flattery, on a circumſtance otherwiſe very honourable to his family.

fy him for the profeſſion of arms, for which he gave a proof of his capacity, when he was ſcarce able to weild them [b].

In the firſt year of the reign of king *Charles* I. his majeſty, who had then in view a war with *Spain*, came down to *Plymouth*, in order to inſpect the naval preparations that were making there. Sir *Thomas Monk* had a mind to pay his duty to his prince, though his debts (derived rather from his anceſtors extravagance than his own) made him ſomewhat afraid of the law. To remedy this evil, he ſent his ſon *George* to the under-ſheriff of *Devonſhire*, with a conſiderable preſent, deſiring, that on ſo extraordinary an occaſion, he might be ſafe from any inſult while he attended the king. The ſheriff took the preſent, and granted his requeſt; but ſoon after, receiving a larger from one of his creditors, took him in execution, in the face of the county. *George Monk*, whoſe youth led him to think this a ſtrange action, went to *Exeter*, and after expoſtulating with the petti-fogger, who was altogether inſenſible as to reproaches, took his leave of him in a more intelligible language, and caned him ſo heartily, that he left him in no condition of following him. This adventure ſent him on board the fleet, which under the command of lord *Wimbleton*, ſhortly after, ſailed for *Cadiz*, when he was in the 17th year of his age; and thus he began, as he ended his ſervice to his country, at ſea [c].

In this voyage he ſerved as a voluntier, under his near relation, ſir *Richard Greenville*. The next year we find him

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[b] Theſe particulars are taken from the life of general Monk, written by Dr. Gumble; his life by doctor Skinner, and what is ſaid of him in Prince's worthies of Devon. [c] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 11.

him with a pair of colours, under the brave ſir *John Burroughs*, in the unfortunate expedition to the iſle of *Rhee*. Such unlucky beginnings would certainly have daunted a leſs reſolute mind than that of Mr. *Monk*, who was diſtinguiſhed in his youth by a ſteadineſs of temper, which he maintained to his dying hour, and which was equally incapable of being heated by paſſion, or chilled by fear.

In 1628, being then compleatly of age, he went over into *Holland*, and ſerved in the regiment of the earl of *Oxford*, and afterwards in that of the lord *Goring*, who gave him the command of his own company, before he was thirty years of age. In this ſervice, Mr. *Monk* was preſent in ſeveral ſieges and battles, and purſuing ſteadily the ſtudy of his profeſſion, became a compleat maſter therein. In the laſt year of his ſtay in *Holland*, his winter-quarters were aſſigned him in *Dort*, where the magiſtrates puniſhing ſome of his ſoldiers, for matters rather proper for the inſpection of a court-martial; captain *Monk* expoſtulated the matter ſo warmly, that the point came to be decided by the prince of *Orange*, who, though he in a like caſe had given judgment in favour of ſir *Richard Cave*, (and thereby miſled the captain) now, to gratify the people, gave it for the burghers; which ſo diſguſted *Monk*, who, under a calm behaviour, concealed a very high ſpirit, that he ſoon after threw up his commiſſion, and never ſaw the *Dutch* after, as a friend [d].

On his return home, he found his country in great confuſion, a war newly broke out with the rebellious *Scots*, and an army raiſing to chaſtiſe them, in which he ſerved as lieutenant-colonel, under the earl of *Newport*; and if

[d] Gumble, Skinner, Prince, &c.

his advice had been taken, things had not ended as they did [e]. When the war blazed out in *Ireland*, in 1641, he, through the favour of his couſin, the earl of *Leiceſter*, then lord lieutenant, was appointed to command his own regiment; in which poſt he did great ſervice, and might have been governor of *Dublin*, but for the jealouſy of the earl of *Ormonde* [f]. In 1643, he returned into *England* to ſerve his majeſty, to whom he was introduced at *Oxford*, and honoured with a conference which laſted ſome time, and which ſatisfied the king how ill he had been uſed by his miniſters, who, upon ſome dirty intelligence from *Dublin*, prevailed upon his majeſty to take away his regiment, and give it to major *Warren*, a man of ſo much honour, that they found no ſmall difficulty in prevailing on him to accept it. To make colonel *Monk* ſome amends, the king conſtituted him major-general of the *Iriſh* brigade, and then ſent him to his command, which he had not enjoyed long, before he with many other officers, were ſurprized by ſir *Thomas Fairfax*, and ſent priſoners to *Hull*, from whence, by ſpecial direction of the parliament, he was transferred to the *Tower* of *London*, where

[e] Skinner's life of Monk, p 18. Where he aſſerts, that lieutenant Monk was one of the few officers who ſeconded the earl of Strafford in his deſire of fighting the Scots, inſtead of treating with them; which at all events muſt have ſerved the king's purpoſe: but his tenderneſs for his countrymen ruined him, and by bearing ſo much from rebels in one kingdom, he invited a rebellion in another. [f] Skinner's life of general Monk, p 21. Ludlow tells us in his memoirs, p. 77. that when Ormonde ſent him over, he ordered him to be confined in the ſhip, becauſe he had made a ſcruple of ſerving againſt the parliament with forces raiſed by their authority. This ſhews, that general Monk was not ſuch a ſoldier of fortune, as Burnet, and ſome other writers, would make him, but that he had always a great reſpect to principle.

where he remained ſeveral years a priſoner, in circumſtances narrow enough; though his brother, who was a royaliſt, and conſequently the leſs able, did what he could for him, and his generous maſter ſent him from *Oxford* one hundred pounds in gold; which was a large ſum out of ſo low an *Exchequer* [a].

In 1646-7, when the fury of the civil war was over, by the total ruin of the king's affairs, colonel *Monk* accepted a commiſſion under his relation the lord *L'iſle*, of whom the parliament had appointed to have the government of *Ireland*. When, in conſequence of this, he obtained his liberty, he went before he left the *Tower* to pay his reſpects to the venerable doctor *Matthew Wren*, lord biſhop of *Ely*, and having received his bleſſing, the colonel took his leave in theſe words, *My lord, I am now going to ſerve the king, the beſt I may, againſt his bloody rebels in* Ireland; *and I hope I ſhall one day live to do further ſervice to the royal cauſe in* England [b]. At this time, however, he was not very fortunate; for after a ſhort ſtay in that kingdom he returned with lord *L'iſle*, whoſe difference with the marquis of *Ormonde* hindered either of them from ſerving their country effectually. But colonel *Monk* did not long remain idle in *England*; for the parliament knew his abilities too well, and had too quick a ſenſe of the ſtate of *Iriſh* affairs, not to employ him in the only ſervice to which he was inclined: and thus he returned a third time into *Ireland*, with the title of commander in chief of the

[a] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 25. See alſo the preface by dr. Webſter, where there is a letter from Mr. Monk to his elder brother, dated from the tower, Nov. 6, 1644, acknowledging the receipt of 50 l. and deſiring the like ſum. [b] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 28. This fact is taken notice of in biſhop Wren's diary, once in the poſſeſſion of dr. More, biſhop of Ely.

English forces in the north, where he aſſociated with *Monroe*, who commanded a body of *Scots*; and though it was a very difficult thing to manage ſuch a conjunct authority, yet the prudence of *Monk* enabled him to ſurmount this difficulty, and many others, ſome of which were yet greater. He was forced to make war without money, which he did ſo effectually as to reduce *Owen Roe O Neile*, to the utmoſt diſtreſs, by carrying off proviſions where that was practicable, and burning them where it was not. Yet in the ſpring of the year 1649, colonel *Monk* found himſelf in ſo weak a condition by the deſertion brought on his army through the deteſtation the ſoldiers had of the king's murder, that he was conſtrained to enter into a treaty with this *Owen Roe O Neile*; which certainly ſaved the few troops he had under his command, and thereby preſerved the parliament's intereſt in that country [i]. However, it gave ſuch offence, that on his return he was ſubjected to a ſtrict enquiry by the houſe of commons, who after a very full hearing of the matter, came to a reſolution againſt the treaty, but in juſtification of *Monk*'s intention therein, which tho' but a partial cenſure, ſome think the general never forgot [k]. I muſt own, this appears to me one of the darkeſt parts of his hiſtory; but what I find moſt probable is, that the parliament's reſolution was intended purely to wipe off the odium of having treated with an *Iriſh* papiſt, and that colonel *Monk* did nothing therein but under direction; and this I think ſufficiently appears from

[i] Ludlow's Memoirs, Gumble's life of Monk, Skinner's life of Monk. [k] Moderate intelligencer from June 7 to 14, 1649, N° 221. Hiſtory of independancy, part ii. p. 226. Whitlock's Memorials, Hiſtory of the war in Ireland, and the ſeveral lives of Monk before-cited.

from the parliament's having carried on a private treaty with an agent of *O Neile*'s at *London* [l], and from the ſtile of their reſolution, in which, though they declare the fact to be criminal, yet they admit the man to be innocent; which I conceive he could not well be, unleſs he had known their intentions [m].

OLIVER CROMWELL was now entruſted with the ſole direction of the *Iriſh* war, and *Monk* was out of all employment; which might have ſtraitned him in his private fortune, if his elder brother had not died without iſſue male, by which he inherited the eſtate of the family. About this time alſo he declared his marriage, or perhaps ſomewhat later; for, it ſeems, he did not care the world ſhould know he had a wife, till he was ſure of a fortune to maintain her [n]. His repoſe was of no long continuance; for in the year 1650, *Cromwell*, when he was about to march into *Scotland* againſt the king, engaged him to accept of a new commiſſion. *Skinner* and ſome other writers talk of a ſecret fate which over-ruled him in this action [o]; nay, ſome of them would inſinuate, that it was purely to revenge the treaſon of the *Scots* againſt

[l] Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 294, 295. [m] The reſolution is in theſe words. "That this houſe doth utterly diſapprove "of the proceedings of colonel Monk in the treaty and ceſſation "made between him and Owen Roe O Neile; and that this "houſe doth deteſt the thoughts of cloſing with any party of po-"piſh rebels there, who have had their hands in ſhedding En-"gliſh blood. Nevertheleſs the houſe being ſatisfied, that what "the ſaid colonel Monk did therein, was, in his apprehenſion, "neceſſary for the preſervation of the parliament of England's "intereſt; that the houſe is content the further conſideration "thereof, as to him, be laid aſide, and ſhall not at any time here-"after be called in queſtion." [n] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 33. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 470. [o] Life of general Monk, p. 36.

king *Charles* I. that he took arms againſt them now, when they were fighting to reſtore king *Charles* II[p]. But I muſt freely own, that it appears to me the higheſt impiety to charge upon the providence of God, what would be thought weakneſs in man; as, on the other hand, I ſee no reaſon why we ſhould ſacrifice truth to our zeal for any perſon, or any cauſe. I revere *Monk* as much as any man, and yet I muſt ſpeak it as my opinion, that he deſerted his principles upon this occaſion, that he might gratify his ambition. *Cromwell* was ſo ſenſible of his merit, that he took a very unuſual way to provide him with a regiment, by drawing ſix companies out of ſir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s, and ſix out of colonel *Fenwick*'s; and to ſecure him ſtill farther, he made him lieutenant-general of the ordnance, and thus he was again embarked with the parliament through the intereſt of their general [q].

In this expedition *Cromwell*, though he was a very knowing and great officer, certainly run into a dangerous error, which he diſcovered ſomewhat of the lateſt, and then began to retreat towards *Dunbar*, the *Scots* preſſing hard upon his rear. Finding himſelf diſtreſſed, he called a council of war, in which opinions were divided, till general *Monk* delivered his in theſe words, *Sir, the* Scots *have numbers and the hills; thoſe are their advantages: we have diſcipline and deſpair, two things that will make ſoldiers fight; and theſe are ours. My advice, therefore is to attack them immediately; which if you follow, I am ready to command the van.* His propoſal being accepted, he began the attack, and, as *Ludlow* acknowledges, was the

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[p] See Gumble's life of Monk, and Prince's worthies of Devon.

[q] Whitlock, Ludlow, ſir Philip Warwick's Memoirs.

the inſtrument of that victory, which gained *Cromwell* ſo great reputation [r]. The following ſummer he ſpent in reducing the beſt part of *Scotland*, and particularly the town of *Dundee*, which made a good defence: he took it notwithſtanding by ſtorm, put ſix hundred of the garriſon to the ſword, and committed other acts of ſeverity, which, however neceſſary they might be to his private intereſt, were certainly detrimental enough to his public character, the thing itſelf rendering him terrible to the royaliſts, and the manner of it gave diſtaſte to general *Ludlow*, and all the ſober men of that party [s]. The fatigue of ſo much buſineſs, and perhaps ſome extraordinary agitations of mind, threw him into a dangerous fit of ſickneſs, upon this, he applied for leave to return into *England*; which having obtained, he went to *Bath*, recovered his health, and coming to *London*, found himſelf named a commiſſioner, for bringing about an union between *Scotland* and *England*, in which without doubt, he was properly employed, ſince few people at that time knew the intereſt of both nations better than he did [t].

The *Dutch* war gave occaſion for removing general *Monk* from his command in *Scotland*, to employ him on board

[r] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 38. Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 328. [s] Skinner's life of general Monk, p 40, where he ſlips over the matter without any particular notice, Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 137. where it is expreſly ſaid, that he put the governor Robert Lumſdade, and 800 of his garriſon to the ſword. Sir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 361, ſays, the governor was barbarouſly ſhot, after quarter given, by a fanatic officer. General Ludlow in his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 366, affirms quite the contrary, viz. that he ſtormed Dundee, and being entered, put five or ſix hundred to the ſword, and commanded the governor, with divers others, to be killed in cold blood. Unjuſtifiable ſeverity to men engaged upon principle! [t] Gumble's and Skinner's life of Monk.

board the fleet. The death of colonel *Popham* made way for this. It was neceſſary to ſupply his loſs, by ſending an experienced officer in his ſtead, and this induced the parliament to caſt their eyes upon *Monk*. He was now near forty-five years of age, which ſeemed a little of the lateſt to bring a man into a new ſcene of life. Yet it muſt be remembered, that he was bred in a maritime county, and had ſerved at ſea in his youth; ſo that the preferment was not abſolutely out of his way; or, if it was, he ſoon made it appear, that he could eaſily accommodate himſelf to any ſervice that might be beneficial to his country. We find him with the fleet in *May* 1653, and on the ſecond of *June* he engaged the *Dutch* fleet, being on board the *Reſolution*, with admiral *Deane*, who, in the beginning of the action was killed by a chain-ſhot, a new invention generally aſcribed to *de Wit* [u]. *Monk* with great preſence of mind, threw his cloak over the body, and having fetched two or three turns, and encouraged the men to do their duty, ordered it to be removed into his cabin. The diſpute continued two days, and ended at laſt in a compleat victory gained by the *Engliſh*. The *Dutch*, it is true, denied this, and the *States* went ſo far, as to ſend a letter to their foreign miniſters, directing them to aſſert, that it was but a drawn battle [w]; yet *Van Tromp* in his letter acknowledges the contrary, and lays the blame on the want of ammunition, and the baſe behaviour of many of his captains [x]. This is certain, that *Monk* dif-

[u] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 45. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 139. Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, p. 366. Whitlock, Ludlow, Rapin, &c. [w] The reader may find this letter in Thurloe's papers, vol. i. p. 273. [x] This letter is alſo printed in the ſame collection, vol. i. p. 270.

diſcovered upon this occaſion ſuch a ſpirit of puſhing things to the utmoſt, as gave him great reputation. He ſoon encreaſed this, by engaging the *Dutch* again on the 29th of *July*, where he likewiſe fought two days, and gained a ſecond compleat victory, as we have elſewhere ſhewn [y], and ſhall therefore inſiſt only on a few particulars relating to his perſonal conduct in this place. The *Dutch* fleet was far ſuperior to his, and yet he not only attacked them, but engaged with thirty ſail of light frigates, while the reſt of the fleet were a-ſtern, and could not get up. The 30th proved a foul day, and ſo prevented any further fighting. On the 31ſt the *Dutch* had a ſupply of twenty-five large ſhips, which did not hinder *Monk*, (who now commanded in chief) from attacking them, though he knew they had another great advantage, *viz.* a number of fire-ſhips, whereas he had none: nay, as if he had been ſecure of victory, he gave orders, that no ſhip ſhould be taken, or quarter given; for he ſaw that ſending off ſhips to convoy them, weakened his own fleet, and thereby leſſened the effects of their victories [z]. His judgment appeared to be right, from the conſequence of this battle, in which the loſs of the *Dutch*, eſpecially that of their gallant admiral *Van Tromp* was ſo great, that it would not admit of any diſguiſe; but the *States* were forced to ſend their miniſters hither, to conclude a peace upon any terms that could be got [a]. After this, he was ſent upon the coaſt of *Holland*, to deſtroy all the pretences of

[y] p. 173. [z] Baſnage, annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 240. Heath's chronicle, p. 348. Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Echard, Rapin. [a] Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Sir Philip Warwick's Memoirs, and Skinner's life of Monk.

of the *Dutch*, in case they had set up any, and to make their people sensible that they were thoroughly beaten. On his return to *London*, he found the little parliament sitting by the authority of general *Cromwell*, which assembly treated *Monk* however so kindly, that the general began to be jealous of him, till upon repeated conversations, he was thoroughly persuaded that *Monk* thought them, what he was willing every body should think them, a crew of ignorant enthusiasts; and then he became perfectly easy, and took *Monk* into his favour, who, notwithstanding all this kindness, declared himself against the peace intended with the *Dutch*; which *Cromwell* nevertheless made, having taken upon him the title of *Protector*. And to this the *States* contributed not a little by their ambassadors, who represented to general *Cromwell*, that the parliament he had been pleased to call, were a set of men fitter for *Bedlam*, than the government of a state, with whom it was impossible to treat or conclude any thing; but that, if he would assume the government, they would submit to any terms he should think reasonable [b]. When he was once fixed in his protectorate, and felt the weight of governing three kingdoms, he began to think of easing himself, by sending proper officers into two of them; and in this partition, *Scotland* fell to the share of general *Monk*. It was in the spring of the year 1654, that *Cromwell* took this resolution, and *Monk* readily accepting the commission, went down thither in the month of *April* the same year [c].

He

[b] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 51. [c] Carrington's life of Cromwell, Skinner's life of Monk, p. 55. Whitlock's Memorials.

HE found the kingdom in the utmoſt confuſion, the *Engliſh* army very ſmall, and very ill governed, being under the command of Colonel *Deane*, a timorous man, and one that knew not how to direct any thing in ſuch a critical conjuncture. A great part of the nobility were in arms for the king; and as to the reſt of the people, they were ſplit into innumerable parties, by quarrels amongſt their miniſters [d]. The general ſhewed himſelf a true ſervant of *Cromwell's*; he not only purſued the buſineſs of the war indefatigably, but by ſetting a price on the heads of the principal cavaliers, filled their minds with ſuch diſtruſts, that they ever after acted in confuſion [e]. He ſettled garriſons and magazines in the moſt diſtant parts of the nation, uſing ſuch ſeverity towards all who reſiſted, and ſuch lenity to all who ſubmitted, that in a very ſhort time he ſubdued the whole kingdom. When the war was over, he fixed himſelf at the houſe of the counteſs of *Buccleugh*, at *Dalkeith*, within four miles of *Edinburgh*; where, while he governed the kingdom more abſolutely than moſt of its monarchs had done, he lived with all the moderation of a private man, and made huſbandry and gardening his ſole diverſions [f]. *Cromwell* ſent down a commiſſion to direct civil affairs, under the title of a council of ſtate, conſiſting of the lord *Broghill* who was preſident, colonel *Howard*, afterwards

[d] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Gumble and Skinner's like of Monk. [e] See this proclamation, ſigned G. Monk, and dated at Dalkeith, May 4th, 1654. In it he mentions major-general Middleton, the earl of Athol, the earl of Seaforth, the lord viſcount Kenmure, and major-general Daziel; for the killing of whom, or bringing them priſoners to an Engliſh garriſon, he offers 200 pounds a head. This proclamation is in the late collection of Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. ii. p. 261. [f] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 70. Gumble, Prince, &c.

afterwards earl of *Carliſle*, colonel *William Lockhart*, colonel *Adrian Scroop*, colonel *John Weſtbam*, and major-general *Diſbrowe* [g]. The majority of this council, concurred with *Monk* in every thing, ſo that in the main, the civil, as well as military power, was in his hands, and he managed it in ſuch a manner, that the people had not either reaſon or inclination to complain; but, on the contrary, were very thankful and contented. He ſeems, however, by his letters, to have been ſtrongly attached to *Cromwell*, ſince we find, that he not only communicated to him all that he could diſcover of the king's intelligence there with others, but ſent him alſo the copy of a letter, written by king *Charles* II. to himſelf; which hitherto has been always mentioned as a proof of *Monk*'s early affection for the king's ſervice, on a ſuppoſition, that though he did not anſwer, he concealed it; which ſuppoſition is now overturn'd [h]. Yet all this precaution did not ſecure him from the jealouſy of the protector, who was actually contriving how to remove him, when death put an end to his projects. A little before his end, however, he wrote the general a long letter, concluding with the following poſtſcript, which, I conceive, affords us a better picture of *Oliver*, than is any where to be met with, and which is no leſs ſingular, drawn by his own hand [i].

THERE

[g] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath, Skinner, Prince. [h] This letter of king Charles II. to Monk, is dated Colen, Auguſt 12, 1655, and was communicated to Dr. Peter Barwick, by Monk's ſon, as a proof of his father's early loyalty: but it appears from Thurloe's papers, that Monk gave an account of every thing that paſſed in Scotland, and particularly ſent him up this very letter, with many others. [i] Skinner's life of Monk.

THERE be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, *called* George Monk, *who is ſaid to lie in wait there, to introduce* Charles Stuart. *I pray you uſe your diligence to apprehend him, and ſend him up to me.*

YET, as a creature of *Cromwell*'s, he was hated by the common-wealth party, and a conſpiracy had been formed againſt him by colonel *Overton*, in which *Sindercome* had undertaken to murder the general, who afterwards made a like attempt upon *Cromwell*; but *Monk* having diſcovered and diſappointed the plot, contented himſelf with ſending the authors of it up to *London* [k]. The principal cauſe of the protector's jealouſy, was the kindneſs ſhewn by the general to the *Scots*, for finding them of his own temper, that is to ſay, of a civil, though reſerved nature, he admitted them freely to his preſence, of what party ſoever they were. Immediately on *Oliver*'s death, he proclaimed *Richard*, from whom he received a very kind letter, which contained a fact not likely to be true, *viz.* that his father had directed him to be governed chiefly by *Monk*'s advice; whereas he was ſcarce in his ſenſes, when he appointed him to the ſucceſſion [l]. The further to conciliate *Monk*'s friendſhip, the protector ſent down commiſſary *Clarges*, brother to lady *Monk*, laden with promiſes: which, however, had no effect upon the wary general, who received his commands reſpectfully, wrote a civil anſwer to *Thurloe*'s ſmooth letter, and took all the care he could to ſecure his command in *Scotland*, 'till he ſaw

[k] Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. iv. p. 132. [l] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 75.

ſaw what turn things in *England* would take, it having been his opinion, that, if *Oliver* had lived much longer, he would have been ſhaken in his ſeat [m].

THE ſucceeding troubles in *England*, therefore, were very far from ſurprizing him. On the contrary, they were what he looked for, and expected; and it was very eaſy to foreſee, that in conſequence of them, ſome attempts might be made to reſtore the king. It would be beſide the deſign of this treatiſe; it would require much more room than we have to ſpare; and, after all, it would be in a great meaſure needleſs, conſidering what has been already written on the ſubject, for us to enter deeply into the intrigues made uſe of, while general *Monk* was in *Scotland*, to bring him into that intereſt [n]. We ſhall content ourſelves therefore with ſaying, that he acted in this matter with the utmoſt prudence and circumſpection; ſo that what the earl of *Clarendon* and biſhop *Burnet* have ſuggeſted, that he was a man of ſlow parts and ſlender abilities, ought to be conſidered rather as the effect of their prejudices, than of the general's conduct [o]. The truth is, they were

[m] Clarendon, Whitlock, Gumble, Skinner, and Price. [n] The curious reader may conſult the life of dean Barwick, wherein he will find the beſt accounts that were ever publiſhed of this matter; and yet the earl of Clarendon ſays nothing of the ſervices of this doctor John Barwick, though no man was better acquainted with them than himſelf; which ſhews, that there are ſome things in which that hiſtory is not altogether to be depended on. [o] It is clear from what lord Clarendon ſays, that he was altogether unacquainted with the general's intentions, and could only collect his deſign from his manner of acting. His reſervedneſs, therefore, to ſo haughty a man, might well enough induce him to ſpeak ſo coldly as he does of the general's performances. Yet he does not pretend to enter deeply into his character, as Burnet does, who muſt know much leſs of it, and that only from converſation in a court where Monk's patriotiſm and ſeverity of morals, had left him few friends, and created him many enemies.

were both out of this ſecret; that is to ſay, the former had no hand in it, and the latter never ſo much as heard of it, which was reaſon enough for them to write as they did. The general's council conſiſted chiefly of ladies. He correſponded in *England* with the lady *Savile*; he managed all *Scotland* by the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of *Buccleugh*, and conſulted much, in regard to his perſonal conduct, with his wife, a woman of quick parts, and a thorough royaliſt. He had, beſides, ſome confidents who will appear to poſterity more worthy of the truſt he repoſed in them, for having never boaſted of the aſſiſtance they gave him, as others did, who afforded him much leſs. Among the firſt, I reckon his wife's brother doctor *Clarges*, colonel *Globerty*, and general *Morgan*; amongſt the latter, his chaplains *Price* and *Gamble*, with many others [P].

In the management of all great undertakings, the ſureſt ſigns of a true genius, is, the diſpoſition of its ſeveral parts. This ſhews the firſt mover; this marks the ruling character, that ſuperiority of ſkill and conduct which denominates a man truly wiſe and great. Let us ſee, then, what it was *Monk* was to overthrow, what to eſtabliſh, and what force he had to do it with. He was to change a ſettlement, new indeed in itſelf, but in appearance, ſo much the ſtronger, having all the authority in the three kingdoms, a veteran army of upwards of thirty thouſand men in *England* and *Ireland*, and a victorious fleet on its ſide.

[P] The capital ſecret of the reſtauration, was the general's forming the deſign of it, which he did in Scotland, and by the aſſiſtance of the counteſs of Buccleugh, drew all the loyal nobility to confide in him; a thing of which biſhop Burnet knew nothing, though it was in truth the great ſpring of the affair, and the cleareſt proof that the general acted ſincerely and uniformly through the whole expedition.

He was to reſtore a loſt cauſe, in the opinion of its beſt friends; a cauſe which he durſt not ſo much as own; a cauſe againſt which himſelf had done much, and the troops he commanded, more; all which he was to do, with a body of between five and ſix thouſand men, which were ſo far from being better troops than thoſe they were to oppoſe, that in reality they were not their equals. Yet, with the bleſſing of GOD, he performed what he propoſed, he triumphed over all theſe difficulties; and he did this by a juſt diſtribution of the ſeveral parts of his ſcheme, any one of which, had it been omitted or miſplaced, had ruined the whole.

He ſecured *Scotland* behind him, raiſed a ſufficient ſum of money to put the firſt ſprings in motion, and excited ſuch a ſpirit in his army, as fitted it for the preſent work. Next, he took care to ſtir the humours in the body politic; to rouſe and animate all the parties in the nation, that they might move, act, and ſhew their ſtrength. He ſet up *Fairfax* againſt *Lambert*, and broke his veteran army, by ſhewing them their old general. He made uſe of honeſt doctor *Price* to feed the royaliſts with hopes, while his own actions could give them none. By the talkative Mr. *Gumble*, he wrought upon the common-wealth's men, by gracious and yet general anſwers, he kept himſelf well with all parties, without declaring for any. He prevailed with the parliament, to part with a better army than his own, meerly from the opinion of his being their *beſt Friend*: when he came to *London*, he ſhewed himſelf the very *beſt* of their *ſervants*, by obſequiouſly performing the *dirtieſt* of their work, and proving them thereby to be the *worſt* of *maſters*, he paved the way for *outing* them of their *authority*. Thus he went beyond them in their own arts,

outſtripped

out-ſtripped them in cunning, and having the city and the country, as well as the fleet and the army, on his ſide, he gave *law* to thoſe who had been ſo long *dictators* [q].

By recalling the ſecluded members, he, of a *rump*, made them a *houſe*, and, by their own conſent, fairly diſſolved that long parliament, which might otherwiſe have been everlaſting. After doing all this, he did ſtill more; he refuſed the kingdom, when it was offered him by the diſtracted republicans, to keep it from its right owner, and when our old enemies, the *French*, would have lent him their aſſiſtance, to have hindred the return of a monarch, who they foreſaw, unleſs they miſled him, muſt be the firſt in *Europe*; and this as good politicians, though that monarch was a grandſon of *France*. But *Monk* generouſly deſpiſed a diadem to which he had no right, and with equal greatneſs of mind, refuſed to make any terms with him to whom it belonged [r]. He ſaw the folly of cobling conſtitutions, and pretending to take power from one ſet of men to give it to another: he choſe, therefore, like a wiſe and honeſt man, to fix things upon their old bottom, and to leave the king's power, and the people's freedom, to be diſcuſſed in the only aſſembly that could have a right to med-

[q] See Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, Kennet, Echard, Rapin; as alſo Gumble's life of Monk, doctor Price's myſtery and method of the reſtauration, Skinner's life of Monk, and Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs. [r] Mr. Locke, on the credit of the earl of Shafteſbury, has publiſhed a very ſtrange ſtory, in relation to the conduct of this great man, as if he had agreed with the French ambaſſador to take upon him the government; which ſtory is reported at large by Echard in his hiſtory, p. 757. But this, as it is incredible in its nature, ſo it is improbable in its circumſtances, and ſupported by no authority in the world, but that of a vain man, who was deſirous of taking the merit of the reſtauration to himſelf.

dle with them.* Thus was the reſtauration begun, proſecuted, and perfected by *Monk*, who received as favours from the king, his titles, preferments and fortune; all which to be ſure he might have had in another way. And yet this is the man whom almoſt all our hiſtories treat, as having only ſecond rate parts, acting as he was prompted by men of briſker tempers, and invited by favourable occaſions; as a horrid diſſembler, though he refuſed to take the engagement, and was never concerned in the war againſt *Charles* I; as an avaritious, all-graſping perſon, though it is confeſſed, that he aſked nothing from his ſovereign, to whom he gave all; as a man utterly unfit for buſineſs, who yet had ſhewn himſelf a great captain in *Ireland*, an excellent governor in *Scotland*, and a profound ſtateſman in *England*, not to mention his reputation as an admiral, acquired by humbling *Holland*; but it is one thing to merit a character, and another to purchaſe it. The latter was not *Monk*'s talent, he provided for his relations and friends, but he was no encourager of flatterers, and withal being a bad courtier, he was ſeldom thought of after the reſtauration but when he was neceſſary; and this happening pretty often, leads us to the reſt of his hiſtory, in which we ſhall ſtill find him appear with honour, and perform with ſucceſs.

THE command of the army was continued to the duke of *Albemarle*, as long as there was an army to command; he was likewiſe made maſter of the horſe, and one of the king's

* The very enemies of Monk have always allowed him this eminent ſervice of reſtoring the king without conditions, to which we owed that ten years calm ſucceeding the king's return; whereas, if he had ſubmitted to conditions, we muſt, from the nature of things, have relapſed into confuſion immediately.

king's bedchamber. Biſhop *Burnet* has ſaid abundance of invidious things of him; and this will make it neceſſary to ſhew how falſe they are, and how little credit is due to all the inſinuations of that prelate againſt this great man's character. He ſays he was ravenous, as well as his wife, who was a mean contemptible creature, (bad words theſe in a biſhop's mouth, who at other times could ſay ſoft things of the ladies) and adds, that he ſoon loſt all perſonal regard by becoming uſeleſs [t]. When he was created a duke, the king ſettled ſeven thouſand pounds a year on him, though one hundred thouſand pounds had been propoſed before the reſtauration took place. When he was called up by writ to the houſe of lords, he was attended by almoſt the whole houſe of commons to the door; a very unuſual mark of reſpect, which could only be due to extraordinary merit, and muſt have flowed from their ſenſe of it. Various plots were framed immediately after the king's return; and in all theſe the duke of *Albemarle*'s life was particularly aimed at; this ſeems to be a ſtrong proof of his conſequence, and, if we were to demand another, we cannot deſire a better than what all the hiſtories of thoſe times tell us, *viz.* That theſe inſurrections were chiefly ſuppreſſed by his activity at the head of his own faithful regiment [u]. His ſucceſs in this reſpect gave him an opportunity of deſerving as much from the nation by his patriotiſm, as ever he did from the king by his loyalty. It was ſuggeſted in council, that theſe tumults ſhewed how little uſe could be made of trained-bands; and

[t] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. book ii. [u] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle. See alſo his continuation of Baker's chronicle, life of dean Barwick, Skinner's life of general Monk, ſir philip Warwick's memoirs.

therefore, that it was fit a part of the army ſhould be kept up. The duke ſaid *this could not be done without giving the people a jealouſy of the* king; *and that the beſt way to gain their* affections, *was to* rely *upon* them [w]. I leave the reader to judge, with what decency this man could be ſaid to forfeit all perſonal regard, and to become in a ſhort time uſeleſs.

But the biſhop is not content with barely characterizing this noble perſon, he charges him with three glaring crimes; which, as they relate to the moſt eminent actions of his life, we ſhall briefly conſider. The firſt is the murder of the marquis of *Argyle*. This nobleman was queſtioned before the parliament of *Scotland*, for concurring with the late rebellious powers. He pleaded, that he *complied* with them only, and made a very ſtrong defence [x]: but the biſhop ſays, that *Monk* having ſeveral letters of his, which fully ſhewed that his inclinations, as well as his actions were with the prevailing party; he ſent theſe down, which were read in parliament, and by this breach of private friendſhip he brought the marquis to the block [y]. Now to this I ſay, that the fact cannot be true for many reaſons: I ſhall mention only a few. Firſt, the marquis in his defence complains, that he was ſurprized into being preſent at *Oliver's* proclamation as protector, by general *Monk's* ſending for him to the council, without letting him know what was to be done. Would he have complained of this, and have paſſed by the letters; or would not this complaint have been ridiculous if there

[w] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 322. [x] The proceedings againſt him may be found in the 2d volume of ſtate trials. [y] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. book ii.

there had been any ſuch letters[z]? II. The marquis died with an appeal to God for the ſincerity of his defence, and wrote a letter to the king, affirming the ſame thing, a copy of which I have ſeen[a]. Would ſo a wiſe man as the marquis certainly was, have done this, if, as *Burnet* ſays, his own letters had made the thing ſo plain, that his friends had nothing to ſay? III. This does not at all agree with *Monk*'s character. He was an advocate for mercy to the regicides in the houſe of lords; he was ſilent on the bench at the *Old-Baily* when commiſſioned to try them; and, which is much more to the purpoſe, he ſaved ſir *Arthur Haſlerig*'s life and eſtate, (the bittereſt perſonal enemy he had in the world) by owning a promiſe to him, which ſome ſay he never made. This ſeems to ſhew him of no betraying ſpirit[b]. IV. There was no occaſion for *Argyle* to write any ſuch letters, for *Monk* never was in *England* after *Oliver* became protector; and it is hard to underſtand, why the marquis ſhould apply to him in *Scotland*, when he could ſo eaſily have an audience of *Cromwell* in *London*, where he often was[c]. V. But the thing is now out of doubt; for by the publication of *Thurloe*'s papers it appears, that *Monk* never conſidered the marquis in this light, but always repreſented him as a ſecret friend to the king, and an active enemy to the protector's government[d].

[z] State-trials, vol. ii. [a] By the favour of his nephew, the honourable Mr. Archibald Campbell. In this letter, the marquiſs inſiſts on his loyalty in very high terms; and indeed there is all the reaſon in the world to believe, he never meant any thing more in his proceedings in Scotland, than to reſtrain the power of the crown within due bounds. [b] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 319, 320. [c] Ibid. chap. vii. [d] See the correſpondences of Argyle and Monk in the 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes of Thurloe's ſtate-papers; and thence it will plainly appear, that there was no harmony between them, and conſequently no ground to ſuppoſe that the marquis would lay himſelf open to him by his letters.

THE *second* imputation on the duke of *Albemarle*'s conduct is his recommending the match with *Portugal*[e]. It is admitted, that this propoſition was made by the *Portuguese* ambaſſador to the duke of *Albemarle* before the king's actual return, and that he propoſed it to his majeſty as a meaſure proper for extending the trade, and increaſing the influence of his ſubjects abroad. It is likewiſe true, that his grace thought the acquiſition of *Tangier* a very conſiderable thing; which will be the leſs wondered at, if we conſider that in *Cromwell*'s time there was a project of getting it into our poſſeſſion. If, therefore, the duke of *Albemarle* was for this match from right motives, and with a view to the intereſt of his king and country, as it was plain he was, it is very hard to arraign his behaviour upon conſequences, which it is certain he could not foreſee, and very probably had never conſidered. Beſides, another queen might have been barren as well as *Catherine*, and have brought the nation no advantage at all; whereas, it is certain that our cloſe conjunction with *Portugal*, has been very beneficial to us as a trading people, and that our acquiſitions of *Bombay* and *Tangier* became uſeleſs, or at leaſt inconſiderable our own fault, through the perpetual ſtruggle of factions amongſt us, which have been always our bane; and therefore, to attribute theſe to the conduct of *Monk*, or to condemn him for adviſing a treaty of marriage, which was thoroughly canvaſſed in, and approved by the parliament, is as unreaſonable as it is unjuſt[f].

WE find in the *third* place the ſale of *Dunkirk* charged ſolely upon the duke, as if he had contrived and made the bargain

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[e] Burnet's hiſtory, as before-cited.

[f] Philips, Kennet, Echard, Skinner's life of Monk, &c.

bargain for it, but then we have no other evidence to prove this, than that it was biſhop *Burnet*'s opinion, grounded I ſuppoſe on court-converſation [g]; for I find it charged by ſeveral who ſeem to be as well informed as he, to the account of other great counſellors. That it is not likely the motion came from him, the reader will eaſily diſcern, when I put him in mind of his great fondneſs for acquiring *Tangier*, and that by the XIX article of the ſame treaty of marriage it was provided, that *Dunkirk* ſhould never be reſtored to *Spain*; which ſhews how much he had the keeping it at heart [h]. To ſpeak candidly, it is a very difficult thing to know who adviſed this ſale, or rather, who conſented to it. Some *French* writers tell us, the affair was negotiated between the count *d'Eſtrades*, the lord chancellor *Clarendon*, the lord treaſurer *Southampton*, the duke of *Albemarle*, and the earl of *Sandwich*. The two former are acquitted by *Burnet* and ſome other writer; and as to what he ſays of the duke's aſſerting the place not to be tenable, and thereby inducing the king to be more eaſy in parting with it; I find that advice expreſsly aſcribed by others to the earl of *Sandwich*, who to be ſure was beſt acquainted with it, I mean with the place, its

[g] The biſhops words are theſe, "The matter under debate "was, whether this place ought to be kept or ſold. The mili- "tary men who were believed to be corrupted by France, ſaid "the place was not tenable; that in time of peace it would put "the king to a great charge, and in time of war it would not "quit the coſt of keeping it. The earl of Clarendon ſaid, he "underſtood not thoſe matters, but appealed to Monk's judgment, "who did poſitively adviſe the letting it go for the money "that France offered." Yet I do not find the duke of Albemarle particularly charged in the moſt authentic relation we have of this matter, which is ſir Edward Harley's account of the expences and treaſure of Dunkirk, a MS. in the Harleian library. [h] Echard, p. 801.

its real conſequence, and the poſſibility of keeping it[i]. However the duke acted in the matter, it is plain he was not alone in his ſentiments, and though, without queſtion, the giving up *Dunkirk* was a very wrong ſtep, yet I think there is much better evidence to fix it upon the king's neceſſities, and his expreſs will and pleaſure, in order to come at ſo conſiderable a ſupply as five hundred thouſand pounds without the aſſiſtance of parliament, than to charge it upon the duke, who, for any thing that appears, had no more to do with it than the reſt of the lords of the privy council[k].

WHEN the firſt *Dutch* war broke out in 1664, we find the duke of *Albemarle*'s name among the lords of the council ſubſcribing the proclamation: and there ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt, that he was very hearty in that meaſure; whereas the chancellor and the treaſurer were both againſt it[l]. The duke of *York*, as we have before ſeen, at the beginning of the war commanded the fleet in perſon, and upon this occaſion he devolved the whole adminiſtration

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[i] The true reaſon why ſo great a noiſe was made about this affair, was, an inclination expreſſed by the parliament to annex this town to the kingdom of England, and thereby render it inſeperable. This was done at the motion of ſir Edward Harley, who had been governor of it, and who was ſo good a patriot, that he refuſed a peerage, and ten thouſand pound to be paſſive in this matter; and for this my authority is, hiſtoire de la Maiſon de Harley, par Monſieur Moret, M. S. [k] The queen mother, whoſe preſence and councils were always fatal to this nation, was here at the time; and one great cauſe of the king's want of money, was to ſettle a court for her at Somerſet-houſe; another to pay the portion of the king's ſiſter to the duke of Orleans. The French king viſibly promoted this clamour about Dunkirk, by ſtriking a medal on the purchaſe with this legend, *Providentia Principis*, i. e. by the attention of the prince. In the exergue, *Dunquerca Recuperata*, i. e. Dunkirk recovered. [l] Kennet, Echard, Rapin.

adminiſtration of the admiralty on the duke of *Albemarle*; and this with ſuch circumſtances of confidence, as demonſtrated his ſenſe of his grace's capacity and fidelity [m]. This, added to his former employments, might have ſufficiently occupied him, and have even rendered the conferring on him any other charge, a thing unthought of: and, yet when the plague broke out in the ſucceeding year, and the king ſaw himſelf obliged to leave his capital, he intruſted the care of it, of his ſubjects, and the chief concerns of his kingdom, to this good duke, who reſided at the *Cock-pit* near *whitehall*, and with the aſſiſtance of the earl of *Craven*, and ſome other public-ſpirited perſons of diſtinction, took care of the health, the properties, and the government of the inhabitants of this great city, diſtributing daily the vaſt charities that were raiſed for the ſupply of

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[m] This letter deſerves the reader's peruſual; becauſe it is a direct proof of the falſhood of this aſſertion, That the duke of Albemarle loſt his credit ſoon after the reſtauration. It runs thus, "My lord duke of ALBEMARLE, having formerly by the king's "approbation, deſired you to take the care of giving all neceſ"ſary orders for the affairs of the navy during my abſence, in "the ſame manner as I ought to do if preſent, I ſhould not "now need to repeat it to you, were it not to acquaint you, that "I have not only by word of mouth, but alſo by writing, given "the principal officers and commanders of his majeſty's navy, "directions to execute all your commands. I deſire you, if you "find any commanders or other officers, negligent in the diſpatch "expected from them for his majeſty's ſervice, not to be ſparing "in uſing your authority for their puniſhment; whether by diſ"placing them, or ſuch other way as you ſhall think fit. I have "commanded my ſecretary to leave with you all ſuch things as "may be neceſſary for your information; if any thing be want"ing, upon the leaſt intimation it ſhall be ſupplied, ſo bidding you "heartily farewel, I am, &c.

March 22, 1964-5 JAMES."

This letter was tranſcribed from a MS. in the hands of the late lord Frederick Howard.

of the diſtreſſed, giving audience to all who had any buſineſs with him, directing the affairs of the navy, while we were engaged in a war of ſuch conſequence, and giving a conſtant account of whatever happened, to the king and his miniſters at *Oxford*[n]. Such was the courage, ſuch were the labours of this great man, who, in the midſt of devouring infection, did in a manner the whole buſineſs of the nation; and yet he is ſaid to have forfeited all perſonal regard, and to have become uſeleſs in a ſhort time after the reſtauration.

While he was ſtill charged with all theſe fatiguing offices, the king, in the ſpring of the ſucceeding year, ſent for him ſuddenly to *Oxford*. He went thither poſt, and on his arrival, after paying his compliments to his majeſty, and giving him a ſuccinct account of the poſture in which he had left affairs at *London*, he was told, that the intent of ſending for him thither was, to make him joint admiral of the fleet with prince *Rupert*, and that he muſt immediately prepare to go to ſea. He deſired a day's time to conſider of it, in which ſpace he conſulted with his friends, who were almoſt unanimouſly againſt his accepting that command. They ſaid, that he had already eſtabliſhed his character as a ſoldier, ſeaman, and ſtateſman; and that it was unreaſonable, at his time of life, for him to ſtake all the honours he had won, on the fortune of a day. That the *Dutch* were already driven into that fury, which made them moſt dangerous at ſea, and that attacking them now, was quite another thing than it was at the beginning of the war: that in ſhort, the loſs of a battle would exceedingly tarniſh his reputation, whereas, a victory

[n] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 331, 332, 333.

victory gained, could add very little thereto. The duke thanked them for the reſpect they had ſhewn for his perſon and character; but at the ſame time added, *theſe were out of the caſe; that he valued neither, farther than they were uſeful to his country; and that he was determined to obey the king's commands, ſince he was ſure he either ſhould accompliſh them, or die in the attempt*[o]. Having accepted this commiſſion, he returned to *London* the third day, and though the war and the plague had both made great havock amongſt the ſeamen, yet it was no ſooner known, that the duke of *Albemarle* was to command the fleet, than great numbers offered themſelves to the ſervice, becauſe as they phraſed it, they were ſure, *honeſt* George (for ſo they called the duke) *would ſee them well fed and juſtly paid*[p].

His grace, in conjunction with prince *Rupert*, uſed ſuch diligence in equipping the fleet, that on the 23d of *April*, being St. *George's* day, they took leave of the king, and fell down the river in one of the royal barges to join the fleet: when they arrived in the *Downs*, the king received intelligence, that the *French* had fitted out a ſtout ſquadron to join with the navy of the *States*; upon which, he ſent down poſitive orders to prince *Rupert* to ſail with twenty of the beſt frigates in the fleet, to fight the *French* ſquadron before it could join the *Dutch*. This, without queſtion, had been a right meaſure, if the king's intelligence had been good; but as, in truth, there was no ſuch *French* ſquadron, ſo the taking away ſo great a part of the fleet, expoſed the remainder exceedingly. Some have ſuggeſted, that there was treachery in this; and indeed

[o] Memoirs of the Dutch wars, Skinner's life of Monk, p. 335. Prince's Worthies of Devon, p. 471. [p] Memoirs of the Dutch wars, p. 39.

deed, from ſir *John Harman*'s letter, giving an account of the battle which enſued, one would apprehend, that he was of this opinion [q]. It is, however, eaſy to account for the thing otherwiſe, and by laying all circumſtances together, I muſt own myſelf perſuaded, that this intelligence proceeded from the arts of the *French*, who, by pretending to equip a great ſquadron, and to ſend it early to ſea, thought to amuſe both us and the *Dutch*, and engage us by dint of theſe preparations to take falſe meaſures; in which they ſucceeded, for the *Dutch* fleet actually expected to be joined by them, as certainly as prince *Rupert* did to meet them [r].

THE duke of *Albemarle* commanding now alone, diſcovered on the 1ſt of *June*, the *Dutch* fleet, conſiſting of about 76 ſail of large ſhips, whereas the duke had not above 50. We have already given an account of this battle [s], and ſhall here, therefore, confine ourſelves to ſuch circumſtances, as concern the duke's perſonal behaviour. He immediately called a council of war, compoſed of ſome of the gallanteſt men that ever bore commands in the *Engliſh* navy, and there, "In regard ſeveral good ſhips, "beſides the *Royal ſovereign*, then at anchor in the *Gun-*"*Fleet*, (neither fully manned, nor ready) would, upon "their retreat, be in danger of a ſurprizal by the enemy; "and that ſuch a courſe might make ſome impreſſion "upon the ſpirit and courage of the ſeamen, who had not "been accuſtomed to decline fighting with the *Dutch*; "it was at laſt unanimouſly reſolved to abide them, and "that the fleet ſhould preſently be put in readineſs to fall "into a line [t]." Thus it appears, that this was an act done by

[q] Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 281. [r] Le Clerc, tom. 138. de Neuville, Vie de Ruyter. [s] See p. 253. [t] Skinner's life of general Monk, p. 340.

by the whole council of war, and upon very rational motives; ſo that to charge the duke with running too great a hazard from his contempt of the *Dutch*, is treating his memory ill without any juſt grounds[u]. The firſt day the enemy gained little or no advantage, notwithſtanding their great ſuperiority, this was entirely owing to the duke's example, who, though he was once obliged to be towed out of the line, yet after making the neceſſary repairs in his rigging, bore into the centre of the *Dutch* fleet, where he engaged *de Ruyter* with incredible fury[w]; hoping his own ſucceſs might have opened a path to victory.

THE next morning the duke called a ſecond council of war, in which he delivered himſelf thus. *If we had dreaded the number of our enemies, we ſhould have fled yeſterday; but, though we are inferior to them in ſhips, we are in all things elſe ſuperior. Force gives them courage; let us, if we need it, borrow reſolution from the thoughts of what we have formerly performed. Let the enemy feel that, though our fleet be divided, our ſpirit is entire. At the worſt, it will be more honourable to die bravely here on our own*

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[u] Biſhop Burnet ſays, that the Engliſh fleet, by the end of the fight, was quite unrigged, and were in no condition to work themſelves off; ſo that they muſt have been all taken, ſunk, or burnt, if prince Rupert had not come in good time — The Court gave out, that it was a victory, and public thankſgivings were ordered; which was a horrid mocking of God, and a lying to the world. We had, in one reſpect, reaſon to thank God, that we had not loſt our whole fleet, hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 377, 378. This account is viſibly falſe; for if the Dutch could have deſtroyed our whole fleet, and were forced to ſheer off, without doing it, this was a victory, the enemy's purpoſe being defeated. But the Dutch admiral owned the fact to be otherwiſe, and that the Duke with the Engliſh fleet (before prince Rupert's arrival) were aggreſſors to the laſt. [w] Philips's chronicle, p. 991. Columna Roſtrata, Skinner's life of Monk.

own element, than to be made ſpectacles to the Dutch. *To be overcome, is the fortune of war; but to fly, is the faſhion of cowards. Let us teach the world, that* Engliſhmen *had rather be acquainted with death than with fear* [x]. The engagement began about eight, and continued till it was night; but our fleet ſuffered ſo much, that in a council of war held in the afternoon, it was reſolved to make a fair retreat; which the duke performed the next day with great prudence and honour. In the evening of that day, prince *Rupert* with his ſquadron came in, and the duke's fleet endeavouring to join it, the *Royal Prince*, commanded by ſir *George Ayſcue*, ran a-ground, and was burnt by the enemy. Before night, however, the *Engliſh* fleets joined, and then it was unanimouſly reſolved in a council of war, that it would be injurious to his majeſty's honour, and the reputation of the *Britiſh* fleet, to ſuffer the *Dutch* to return with any appearance of an advantage, and that therefore, they ſhould attack them the next day, as early as poſſible; which was accordingly done, when the duke, notwithſtanding his hard ſervice in the three former engagements, paſſed, in conjunction with the prince, five times through the enemy's fleet, and had in all probability beat them at laſt, if by an unlucky accident the prince's ſhip had not been diſabled, and ſoon after the Duke's; which, however, did not hinder their firing upon the *Dutch* till it was dark [y]. Two days after, the fleet returned to our own coaſt, and the prince and duke to *London*. On the report of this extraordinary action, many took the

[x] Skinner's hiſtory of the compoſing the affairs of England by the reſtauration, &c. p. 88. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 830.

[y] Philips's chronicle, ubi ſupra, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Echard, Rapin.

the liberty, as his friends foreſaw they would, to cenſure the duke of *Albemarle's* conduct; but the king having thoroughly examined the matter, declared himſelf fully ſatisfied with his behaviour; adding, that it was grounded on reaſon and neceſſity, and that the honour of the nation was concerned in it: that he had thereby given the greateſt inſtance of his own, and of the *Engliſh* valour; and had raiſed the reputation of our naval force to ſuch a height of glory, as would render it for ever terrible to its enemies, and reſpected by its friends [z].

THE *Dutch* fleet having ſuffered leſs, was again very ſoon at ſea; but they had not been long upon our coaſt before, to their amazement, the *Engliſh* fleet came out of the *Thames*, and then they ſtood over to their own. On the 24th of *July*, both fleets were in ſight of each other, and the next day by ſix in the morning, a bloody battle began, wherein the *Engliſh* gained a clear and compleat victory, and the *Dutch* were driven into their ports. Upon this, there followed the burning of the town of *Brandaris*, by ſir *Robert Holmes*, where the enemy's loſs, as Mr. *Echard* tells us, on the authority of a good MS. in the paper-office, fell very little ſhort of a million ſterling [a]. This was the laſt great action performed at ſea by the duke of *Albemarle*. On his return, he found the city of *London* in aſhes, a misfortune which, however, redounded to his reputation, ſince the people ſaid openly in the ſtreets as he paſſed, that *if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt*, which is ſuch an extravagant mark of affection for his perſon, as could ariſe only from their perfect

[z] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 352. [a] Hiſtory of England p. 831.

ſatisfaction, in regard to what he had formerly performed: and it muſt alſo add much to his character in the opinion of all true judges of merit, that he was recalled from the command of the fleet by his majeſty, purely to quiet the minds of the people upon this misfortune [b].

In the ſpring of the year 1667, the king had ſome new advices given him in regard to the management of his navy, which were by no means approved by the duke of *Albemarle*. The drift of them was this, that as the *Dutch* were chiefly ſupported by trade, as the ſupply of their navy depended upon trade, and as experience ſhewed, nothing provoked the people ſo much as injuring their trade, his majeſty ſhould therefore apply himſelf to this, which would effectually humble them, at the ſame time that it would leſs exhauſt us, than fitting out ſuch mighty fleets as had hitherto kept the ſea every ſummer. Sir *John Lawſon* was particularly fond of this doctrine, which by degrees grew acceptible to the king, not ſo much from a perſuaſion of its being juſt and reaſonable, as from a ſenſe that it ſuited with his own condition, the vaſt expences of his court, rendering it very difficult to raiſe ſuch ſums as were requiſite to keep up the navy. Beſides, there was a peace then treating, and the king had the ſtrongeſt aſſurances given him from the *French* court, (on purpoſe to betray and miſlead him) that the *Dutch* would fit out no fleet that ſummer, and upon theſe motives the king took a fatal reſolution of laying up his great ſhips, and keeping only a few frigates on the cruize [c].

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[b] Gumble's life of Monk. [c] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 367, 368. Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, Echard, Burnet, Rapin.

THE *de Wits*, who had perfect intelligence of all that paſſed here, and who perhaps wanted not ſome friends to propound ſuch deſtructive meaſures as were then purſued, immediately laid hold of this opportunity; and having firſt amuſed the king with an attempt in *Scotland* grounded on their reſentment, as it was ſaid, for the injuries done their trade by privateers from thence; they in the midſt of ſummer came with a formidable fleet, piloted by our own traitors, into the mouth of the *Thames*, and on *Thurſday* the 11th of *June* 1667, appeared before *Chatham*[a]. In this trying circumſtance, the moſt diſhonourable to the *Engliſh* nation that perhaps ever happened in any reign, the duke of *Albemarle* was immediately thought of as the fitteſt perſon, to raiſe the ſpirits of the people by his preſence, and to defeat the enemy's deſigns by his conduct. He did all, or even more than could be expected from him to fruſtrate the ſcheme of the *de Wits*; but ſuch a panick had ſtruck the people, and ſuch a want of capacity was viſible in thoſe who had the direction of the king's yards, that [illegible]ders were very indifferently obeyed[*]. He cauſed, however, ſeveral ſhips to be ſunk in the narrow paſſage by the *Muſcle-Bank*, and took ſuch other precautions as were of much ſervice; and, had he been well ſeconded, there is the greateſt reaſon in the world, to believe the *Dutch* had reaped no great credit from this undertaking. At leaſt, this was the opinion of the parliament, who highly approved the duke's conduct, and on the narrative

[a] Phillips's chronicle, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Echard, Rapin, [illegible]

[*] See his grace's account of this matter preſented to parliament, which may be found in ſeveral books; but particularly in the hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for chandler, vol. i. p. 114.

he preſented them in relation to this affair, they impeached commiſſioner *Pett*, relying implicitly as to facts on the credit of what his grace was pleaſed to tell them [f]; ſo that it was a juſt obſervation, and at the ſame time a well turned panegyric, of a learned prelate, when he ſaid of the duke's behaviour in this unlucky buſineſs, *That even where the iſſue of the whole matter was not very proſperous, God was pleaſed to order his part ſo, that he came off with immortal honour and reputation* [g].

AFTER the *Dutch* war was over, and the king had it much in his mind to do his people a pleaſure, he thought fit, on the deceaſe of the earl of *Southampton*, to put the treaſury into commiſſion; yet that it might not be ſurmiſed the public was in any danger from the loſs of ſo great a man, as the treaſurer was allowed to be, the duke of *Albemarle* was put at the head of that commiſſion: and this was the laſt mark of royal favour in this kind, which he received for loſing his health ſuddenly, (that till then he had ſurprizingly retained, in the midſt of ſo many and ſo great fatigues,) he choſe to retire from public buſineſs, and to ſpend the remainder of his time in attending that diſſolution which appeared to be not far off [h]. Yet, having ſome relief from his diſtemper, which was a dropſy, by the aſſiſtance of one dr. *Sermon* of *Briſtol*; and when he relapſed again, continuing long in a declining way, he ſtill ſhewed much loyalty to the king, and a very warm affection for his country. Many viſits he received from his majeſty and the duke of *York* in his laſt ſickneſs, whom he always entertained with decent diſcourſes on the impoſſibility

[f] See the heads of this impeachment in Echard, p. 853.
[g] Dr Seth Ward, biſhop of Saliſbury in his funeral ſermon on the duke of Albemarle. [h] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 369.

poſſibility of ſupporting the royal authority any other way, than by purſuing the true intereſt of the nation. He was likewiſe attended by the moſt conſiderable perſons in both houſes of parliament, whom he exhorted to maintain, in their legiſlative capacities, a good correſpondence with the crown, and with each other. This, he ſaid, was the only way to ſerve the people; for if once the paſſions of private men, or, which was the ſame thing in another dreſs, the particular intereſt of parties came to influence their debates, the public would reap no good fruits from them. With the ſame preſence of mind, he regulated the concerns of his family, cauſing his only ſon to be married to the daughter of lord *Ogle* in his chamber, on the 30th of *December* 1668, and on the 3d of *January* following he quietly yielded up his breath, ſitting in his chair, when he had lived near threeſcore and two years [1].

AFTER ſpeaking of him ſo fully in his public, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of ſo great a man in his private capacity, the temper of his mind, and his abilities natural and acquired. As to his perſon, he was a ſtrong well-built man, of a good preſence, and very able to endure fatigue. The advantages he derived from nature, were much ſtrengthened by his manner of living. He was always an early riſer, his private devotions, and whatever family concerns he had to manage, being conſtantly attended to and diſpatched by ſeven o'clock, when he gave audience without diſtinction to all who deſired it, and conſtantly diſpatched (if it was in his power) every poor man's buſineſs on the ſpot. He was an enemy to

[1] Skinner's troubles of England compoſed, p. 104. Gumble's life of Monk, and Skinner's. Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 196.

all oppreſſion in the army, and uſed frequently to ſay, that his officers ſhould have power to command and to protect, but not to terrify or pillage the ſoldiers [k]. He was a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, of which he gave a ſtrange inſtance at the end of the firſt *Dutch* war in *Cromwell*'s time. The ſeamen came to the navy-office in crouds to demand their prize-money: he told them, that there were fifteen hundred ſhips to be ſold, and that as ſoon as they were ſold they ſhould have their money, with which they ſeemed to be ſatisfied; but in the afternoon, there came four or five thouſand of them armed towards *Whitehall*, which *Monk* hearing, met them at *Charing-Croſs*, in company with *Cromwell* and ſome other officers, where without much expoſtulation he drew his ſword, and wounded ſeveral of them, upbraiding them with not depending on his word, who never broke it; which had ſuch an effect upon them, that forgetting their former fury, they quietly retired, and were afterwards very honeſtly paid [l]. He was extremely moderate in his way of living, eating but one meal a day, and that homely and heartily. He deſpiſed and hated drinking; and having ſettled his affections on the woman he married, was a tender and conſtant huſband through the courſe of his life. As a father, he ſhewed more of paſſion than in any other character; for on the loſs of his ſecond ſon *George* in *Scotland*, he gave way to his grief to ſuch a degree, as ſurprized all who were acquainted with the firmneſs of his temper in other reſpects

[k] See Gumble's life of Monk, which in theſe circumſtances deſerves the more to be depended on, ſince the author was a conſtant eye-witneſs of what he wrote. [l] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 144. where 'tis ſaid, he cut off a man's noſe, and gave him 10 l. as a ſatisfaction.

reſpects [m]. His valour was very ſingular, for he was fierce without loſing his temper, and had an extraordinary meaſure of patience, joined with boundleſs courage; and theſe qualities he poſſeſſed as much as ever, even in the decline of life. In the ſecond *Dutch* war a chain-ſhot took away his breeches, yet he never altered his countenance, or his place [n]. In the *Chatham* buſineſs, apprehending the *Dutch* would land, he expoſed himſelf in the midſt of their cannon-ſhot, that his example might keep others to their duty, and defeat the deſign of the enemy, as it did; and when a perſon of diſtinction expoſtulated with him on this head, and would have perſuaded him to retire, he anſwered very cooly, *Sir, if I had been afraid of bullets, I ſhould have quitted this trade of a ſoldier long ago* [o]. His cardinal virtues were prudence and modeſty: the former enabled him to perform the great things he did, and the latter, reſtrained him from ever valuing himſelf on the great things he had done. He was equally dear to the king, and to the nation; and it was his peculiar felicity, that he had the affection of both, without incurring the jealouſy of either. He would have retired immediately after the reſtauration, if his country could have ſpared him; and when he ſaw it could not, he ſerved it as chearfully as before. He ſerved it in how many capacities? He com-

[m] Skinner and Gumble's life of Monk. [n] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 342. The duke of Buckinghamſhire gives us a much ſtronger proof of his reſolution, on his own knowledge; for he ſays, the duke of Albemarle declared at the beginning of this action, that he was ſure of one thing, viz. that he would not be taken; and that he ſaw him charge a little pocket-piſtol with powder, which his grace believed he would have fired into the powder-room, in caſe the Dutch had boarded him. See his memoirs prefixed to his works, p. 6. [o] Gumble's life of Monk.

manded the army in chief, when the king and the nation's ſafety depended upon that command. He was put at the head of a commiſſion for managing the treaſury, or rather ſettling it. His activity was neceſſary for ſuppreſſing all inſurrections. His preſence was thought requiſite in the higheſt courts of juſtice. If he was intruſted by the king with the army, he was likewiſe entruſted by the duke with the fleet. He had the care of the city when viſited with the plague; the command of the navy when we made war with *France* and *Holland* at the ſame time. He was ſent for to recover the minds of the citizens after the fire. He was ſent to meet the threatning invaſion of the *Dutch*; and as he made way for the treaſurer *Southampton*, ſo on his death he was thought the only man that could replace him. Well then might ſecretary *Nicholas*, that able and faithful ſervant of the crown, ſay, (and he ſaid it when the duke had done a few only of theſe great things) *That independent of his merit in the reſtauration, the duke of* Albemarle *by his indefatigable zeal, and ſucceſsful ſervices afterwards, had merited more than his prince could do for him* [p]. Such was the man whom his maſter was not aſhamed to call his *father*, becauſe indeed he was the *father of his country* [q]!

WHEN

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[p] Skinner's life of Monk, p. 318. Lord Landſdown's works, vol. ii. p. 267. The reader will obſerve, that ſecretary Nicholas was a ſtrict dependant on the chancellor Clarendon, who lived at open variance with the duke of Albemarle. [q] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 188. It was ſaid of him after his deceaſe, by the king, that the duke of Albemarle never over-valued the ſervices of general Monk. What thoſe ſervices were, appears in the preambles to the patents of the duke of Albemarle and the earl of Bath, where the reſtauration is aſcribed to them by the king himſelf.

WHEN his ſon went to wait upon the king with the enſigns of the order of the garter, his majeſty was pleaſed to reſtore them to him. The king likewiſe directed the duke's body to be removed to *Somerſet-houſe*, where it lay for many weeks in ſtate, and on the 4th of *April* was removed with great funeral pomp to *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, and there interred in *Henry* VII. chapel [r]. Yet, as if his fame had ſtood in need of no ſuch ſupport, a monument was neglected; only thoſe who have the care of the place, preſerve his figure in wax, and think it ſufficient to raiſe the admiration of every loyal ſpectator to ſay, *This is general* MONK!

HE left behind him an only ſon, *Chriſtopher* duke of *Albemarle*, to whom both king *Charles* and king *James* ſhewed great reſpect. It muſt be confeſſed, that he had not his father's abilities, either in the cabinet, or in the field; but he was a generous, good-natured man, and leſſened conſiderably the very large eſtate that was left him, by indulging pleaſures his father deſpiſed [s]: yet he had many good qualities, and particularly that of ſheltering and encouraging merit in diſtreſs. He gave a ſingular inſtance of this in ſupporting captain *Phipps*, afterwards ſir *William Phipps*, and governor of *New England*. He came over to make a propoſal for fiſhing on a wreck on the coaſt of *Hiſpaniola*, and made the deſign appear ſo highly probable, and at the ſame time ſo practicable, that king *Charles* II. granted him a ſhip called the *Algier Roſe*, and furniſhed him with whatever was thought neceſſary for the undertaking; which, however, failed of ſucceſs, and captain *Phipps* returned as poor and as poſitive

[r] Philips, Kennet, Echard, Skinner, Gumble, &c. [s] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 196.

tive as ever [t]. He endeavoured to obtain from king *James* II. (who by this time was on the throne) another ſhip; but to no purpoſe. Afterwards he ſet on foot a propoſal for making it a private adventure; for which he was at firſt laughed at, till the duke of *Albemarle* engaged in the deſign, and advanced a conſiderable ſum of money towards fitting him out. He quickly compleated the reſt, and in the year 1687, ſailed in the *Bridgwater Merchant*, a ſhip of two hundred tons on the ſame ſcheme, propoſing to make an equal diſtribution of the profits on twenty ſhares, into which the expence of the undertaking was divided [u].

He was more lucky in his ſecond enterprize, though not till his patience was almoſt worn out; and afterwards proſecuted his deſign with ſuch ſucceſs, that in a ſhort ſpace he returned to *England* with 300,000 *l.* in ſilver. On his arrival, there wanted not ſome who would have perſuaded the king to ſeize his ſhip and cargo, under pretence, that captain *Phipps* had not given an exact information, when he applied for his licence, and the royal aſſiſtance: but his majeſty generouſly anſwered, that he knew the captain to be an honeſt man, and a man of honour; and that if he had brought home twice as much treaſure, his proprietors ſhould divide it. His majeſty further expreſſed his ſatisfaction by knighting him [w]. The duke of *Albemarle* had for his ſhare 90,000 *l.* and ſir *William* about 20,000 *l.* [x]. This piece of good fortune is thought to have engaged the duke of *Albemarle* to ask king *James* for the government of *Jamaica*, which he obtained:

[t] Sir William Phipp's life, by Increaſe Mather. [u] Lives Engliſh and Foreign, p. 196. [w] Life of king James II. p. 392. [x] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. i. p. 130.

ed: but if it was with a view to reap further advantages from that, or other wrecks, he was diſappointed; for whether it was that the treaſure was exhauſted, or that the ſhip being broken up, the ſea by degrees diſſipated its contents; certain it is, that nothing of conſequence could afterwards be obtained from that wreck [y]. His grace's free way of living, eſpecially in regard to the bottle, rendered that a very unfit climate for him to live in, and therefore we need not wonder, that he did not long enjoy his government; but died in the year following without iſſue: and ſo this noble family became extinct [z].

MEMOIRS of Admiral MONTAGUE, *afterwards earl of* Sandwich, *and knight of the garter.*

FAME belongs juſtly to thoſe, who have deſerved well of ſociety; but the higheſt degree of glory ought to wait on the memory of ſuch illuſtrious perſons as have been martyrs for their country, and died, either to ſerve, or to preſerve it. If this be a juſt poſition, as it muſt be ſure allowed by every thinking man; then the noble perſon whoſe memoirs are at preſent to employ our care, ought ever to be revered by *Britons*. His life was an uniform ſcene of patriotiſm, and public ſpirit; his death ſo extraordinary a ſtrain of exalted courage, that as few facts in modern hiſtory come near it, ſo none in more ancient and leſs corrupted times exceed it.

To

[y] Sir William Phipps's life.

[z] Britiſh Empire in America, vol. ii. p. 319.

To ſpeak of the antiquity, or nobility of this family, would be an idle waſte of words; the very name of *Montague* is ſufficient to inform every intelligent reader, of all that I could ſay on that ſubject. Mr. *Edward Montague* was the only ſurviving ſon of ſir *Sidney Montague*, the youngeſt of ſix ſons of *Edward* lord *Montague* of *Boughton* [a]. He was born *July* 27, 1625 [b], and having received all the advantages which a liberal education could beſtow, he came very early into the world, and into buſineſs; eſpecially, if we conſider the times in which he lived, and the qualities neceſſary for men to be diſtinguiſhed in them.

He married, when little above ſeventeen, the daughter of Mr. *Crew*, afterwards lord *Crew* of *Stene* [c]; and being thought more warmly affected to the cauſe of the parliament, than his father ſir *Sidney Montague* was, who had been expelled his ſeat for refuſing to take an oath to live and die with the earl of *Eſſex*, and giving ſuch a reaſon for it, as it was eaſier to puniſh than anſwer [d], received a commiſſion dated *Auguſt* 20, 1643, to raiſe and command a regiment under the earl before-mentioned. This colonel *Montague*, though but eighteen, performed, and

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[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. [b] Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 280. [c] Peerage of England, vol. ii. p 281.

[d] He told the ſpeaker, "he would not ſwear to live with that no-"bleman, becauſe he was an old man, and might die before "him; nor would he ſwear to die with him, ſince the earl was "going with an army againſt the king, which he did not know "how to free from treaſon; and therefore could not tell, what "end that great man might come to." Warwick's Memoirs, p. 221. The parliament's expelling this gentleman merely for declaring his ſentiment, is complained of in one of the king's declarations as a moſt arbitrary proceeding. Clarendon's hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 81.

and the intereſt of his family being very extenſive, he took the field in ſix weeks. He was preſent at the ſtorming of *Lincoln*, on the 6th of *May*, 1644, which was one of the warmeſt actions in the war. He was likewiſe in the battle of *Marſton-Moor*, which was fought on the 2d of *July*, the ſame year, where he greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; inſomuch, that ſoon after, when the city of *York* demanded to capitulate, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for ſettling the articles; which muſt have been the pure effects of perſonal merit, ſince he was then but in his nineteenth year [e]. We find him the next year in the battle of *Naſeby*, and in the month of *July*, 1645, he ſtormed the town of *Bridgwater* [f]. In *September*, he commanded a brigade in the ſtorm of *Briſtol*, where he performed very remarkable ſervice; and on the 10th of *September*, 1645, ſubſcribed the articles of the capitulation, granted to prince *Rupert*, on the delivery of that important place to the parliament [g]; the news of this, in conjunction with colonel *Hammond*, he was appointed to carry, for which a thankſgiving was ordered [h].

But after all this warm ſervice in the army, at an age when few people have ſeen one, he ſhewed no inclination to make the ſword the ſupreme power; but when, by the artifices of their leaders, the ſoldiers declared againſt the parliament, and impeached eleven of its moſt worthy members, he forbore going to the houſe, where, though not of age, he ſate as knight for *Huntingdonſhire* [i]. His acquaintance, however, with *Cromwell*; the court paid him by that artful man, and his own generous un-

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[e] Ruſhworth's hiſtorical collections, vol. v. p. 637. [f] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 56. [g] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 83, 86. [h] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 166. [i] Peerage of England, vol. ii. p. 282.

unſuſpecting temper, drew him in to accept a ſeat at the board of treaſury, and into a ſhare of the tranſactions in thoſe times, with which he was very much diſſatisfied upon reflection. After the *Dutch* war was over, he was brought into a command of the fleet, and was made choice of by the protector, to be joined with *Blake* in his expedition into the *Mediterranean* [k].

Admiral *Montague* found abundance of difficulties to ſtruggle with, at the very entrance on this affair; many of the officers being diſpleaſed with the ſervice in which they were to be engaged, and not a few inſiſted on laying down their commiſſions. He managed this intricate buſineſs with great prudence and dexterity, ſo as to ſhew a due regard to diſcipline, without running into any acts of ſeverity: and this had a very happy effect, ſince, by that time he came to ſail, the fleet was pretty well ſettled, and the officers diſpoſed to act in obedience to orders [l]. In the ſpring of the year, 1656, we find him in the *Mediterranean*, where himſelf, and his colleague, *Blake*, meditated great things. They once thought of attacking the *Spaniſh* fleet in the harbour of *Cadiz*; but after attentively conſidering the port, it was reſolved in a council of war, that ſuch an attempt was impracticable. Then *Gibraltar* was mentioned, as a place that would be of great utility, in caſe it could be taken. Admiral *Montague*, in a letter to ſecretary *Thurloe*, gave his judgment of this project, with great ſagacity. According to his ſentiments, the only method of taking that place, was, to land a body of forces on the *Iſthmus*, and thereby cut off the

[k] Thurloe's State-papers, vol. iv. p. 443. Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, Kennet, Echard. [l] Thurloe's State-papers, vol. iv. p. 570, 571, 589, 594.

the communication of the town with the main; and in this ſituation, to make a briſk attempt upon the place. Yet as a proof of the fallibility of human underſtanding, we find in this very letter; a propoſal for ſending five thouſand land-forces, on account of the haſty diſpoſition of the ſeamen, which rendered them unfit to perform any effectual ſervice on ſhore. [m]. When this place, however, was taken, it was wholly owing to the vigour and activity of the ſailors, and to that impetuoſity in particular, which admiral *Montague* imagined would be a hindrance in any undertaking of this kind.

WHEN cruizing before *Cadiz*, appeared to be of no great advantage, the fleet ſtood over to the oppoſite ſhore of *Barbary*, in order to repreſs the inſolence of the *Tripoli* and *Sallee Rovers*, which was found no very eaſy taſk; and therefore admiral *Montague* could not forbear intimating his deſire, that we ſhould have ſome good port in *Africa*, which he believed might anſwer various ends, and eſpecially conduce to the preſervation and augmentation of our trade in the *Levant*. Hence, I ſuppoſe, grew the firſt notion of getting *Tangier* into our hands, of which a year or two after there was great diſcourſe, as well as of the benefits that would redound to the nation from the poſſeſſing of it; and this in all probability might recommend the *Portugal* match ſo much to the favour of the duke of *Albemarle*, who, it is likely, depended therein, on the judgment of admiral *Montague*. At this time, however, we find our admiral more inclined to take that, or ſome other place from the *Portugueze* by force; for he entertained a very bad opinion of their ſincerity, though at laſt, the ter-

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[m] Ibid. vol. v. p. 67, 68, 69.

ror of the *Engliſh* fleet, compelled them to make ſuch a compoſition, as ſatisfied the protector, and diſappointed *Montague* in his favourite deſign of attacking their *Brazil* fleet [n].

THE warmth he expreſſed in the diſcharge of his command, did not hinder the admiral from perceiving the great prejudice done to our trade, by the carrying on the *Spaniſh* war, of which he gives a fair and clear account in one of his diſpatches to the ſecretary, wherein he complains, that he ſaw the *Dutch*, *Hamburghers*, and *Genoeſe*; carrying on a mighty trade with *Spain*, which, as he obſerves, it was impoſſible for them to hinder, without engaging the ſtate in a war with all the world; and therefore propoſed, that a ſquadron of light frigates only, might be kept in thoſe ſeas, and that the fleet ſhould be employed ſomewhere elſe to more advantage [o]. However, the protector's orders being poſitive, they returned towards autumn into the road of *Cadiz*, where in *September* following, captain *Stayner* made prize of the galleons. A full account of their ſtrength, and the money on board them, admiral *Montague* ſent into *England*, as ſoon as they were taken; and when he afterwards received directions to convoy the prizes home, he ſent another account of the ſilver on board them, deſiring at the ſame time, that ſome perſons might be ſent down to meet the fleet at *Portſmouth*, in order to take charge of the ſilver, and to make a further ſearch into the contents of the galleons [p].

THE

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[n] Ibid. vol. v. p. 194. 195. [o] Ibid. vol. v. p. 170. [p] This letter is directed to ſecretary Thurloe, and dated aboard the Naſeby, at Sea, off the Lizard, October 22, 1656. In it he ſays, "There have been ſome miſcarriages, by the ſhips that did take "the ſhips of Spain; but I ſhall delay to tell of them here, and

THE money taken from the *Spaniards*, was the moſt popular act in all *Cromwell*'s adminiſtration, and therefore the utmoſt pains was taken to give the people a very high idea of this advantage. The ſilver was carried in open carts, and ammunition-waggons, through *Southwark*, to the *Tower of London*; and, to make a ſhew of confidence in the people, theſe waggons had no greater guard than ten ſoldiers [q]. As for admiral *Montague*, he had all the compliments paid him upon this occaſion, that it was poſſible to deſire; the protector careſſed him exceedingly; the parliament returned him thanks by their ſpeaker; and ſome other honours he had received, if with induſtry he had not declined them [r].

IN 1657, he was appointed to command the fleet in the *Downs*, and went accordingly on board it in the latter end of the month of *July*. The deſign of this fleet was to watch the *Dutch*, to carry on the war with *Spain*, and facilitate the enterprize on *Dunkirk*, and in all theſe, he did as much as could be expected from him. Towards autumn, he thought fit to make a journey to the camp of

" and I judge the beſt way to improve mercies of this kind, is to " look forward: however, that is my buſineſs at this time. The " ſilver they brought, is on board this ſhip, and the vice-admi- " ral; in the admiral, we have five hundred and fifty ſowes of " ſilver, and boxes of plate, and nine pieces of ſilver not well re- " fined, like ſugar-loaves. In the vice-admiral, there is a hun- " dred and twenty-four ſowes of ſilver, all which we judge may " produce near two hundred thouſand pounds: I hope I ſpeak " the leaſt, and that it will make much more. In the galleons " holds alſo, there is that ſpace between the main-maſt, and the " bulk head of the bread-room, not yet rummaged." Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. v. p. 509. [q] This appears from a letter of the Dutch ambaſſador Nieuport, to the ſtates-general, dated November 17, N. S. 1656. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. v. p. 269. [r] Clarendon, Whitlock, Philips, lord Sandwich's journal, MS.

the marſhal *de Turenne*, where he had a conference with him, as to the propereſt method of carrying on the war; and then returned on board the fleet, which cruized in the channel till the beginning of winter [s]. All this time he ſeems to have been in the higheſt favour with the protector, and to have had the ſtricteſt intimacy with his family; and yet, even then, the admiral had thoughts of retiring from public buſineſs. What the reaſon of this was, cannot, at this diſtance of time, be recovered; but in all probability, the ſenſe he had of the ſtrange ſervice he was put upon in aſſiſting the *French*, and diſtreſſing the trade of all the reſt of the world, made him uneaſy [t]. One thing is remarkable, that, how much ſo ever he diſliked the orders that were ſent him, he executed them with the utmoſt punctuality; ſo that the *Dutch*, whoſe ſhips he ſearched for ſilver, made a heavy complaint againſt him [u]. We may likewiſe gather from his letters to *Cromwell*, and the inſtructions he received, that he was not a little embarraſſed about the protector's deſigns, and yet it is plain enough, that *Cromwell* deſired that the admiral ſhould rather regulate things by his diſcretion, than be able to juſtify himſelf from the letter of his orders; and this particularly appears in the buſineſs of the flag, upon which the protector wrote him an epiſtle with his own hand, commanding in expreſs terms, that he ſhould inſiſt upon the honour of the flag from all nations, within the limits of the *Britiſh* ſeas, and yet

[s] Theſe facts are collected from various letters in the ſixth volume of Thurloe's ſtate papers. [t] We have theſe particulars in a very curious letter from lord Broghill, to Mr. Montague, diſſuading him from retiring. Dated from Youghall, November 20, 1657. Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. vi. p. 622. [u] Ibid. vol. vii. p. 256.

yet telling him as expreſly, that he knew not what thoſe limits were; adding at the ſame time, that he was to execute theſe orders with caution, ſince peace and war depended on them [w].

AFTER the death of *Oliver*, and the ſetting up of *Richard*, admiral *Montague* was made choice of to command the great fleet ſent to the north; which, as it was in itſelf the wiſeſt and beſt meaſure entered upon in thoſe times, ſo this fleet was beyond compariſon, the beſt that had been fitted out ſince the *Dutch* war; and therefore I think myſelf obliged to give a ſhort account of it [x]. *The Naſeby*, which was the ſhip the admiral ſailed in, carried ſeventy guns and ſix hundred men, *The Reſolution* had the like number of men, and eighty guns. There were fourteen ſhips carrying fifty pieces of cannon and upwards, twenty-eight forty gun ſhips or near it; four of thirty guns, beſides twelve ſmaller veſſels, carrying from twenty-two to eight pieces of cannon, in all ſixty ſhips, and on board them eleven thouſand eight hundred and twenty men [y]. The admiral went on board the fleet in the ſpring of the year 1659, and on the 7th of *April*, he wrote to the king of *Sweden*, the king of *Denmark*, and the *Dutch* admiral *Opdam*, to inform them of the motives that had induced the protector to ſend ſo ſtrong a fleet into the *Baltick*; and that his inſtructions were not to reſpect the private advantage of *England* by making war, but the public tranquility of *Europe*, by en-

[w] Ibid. p. 633. where the reader may find Cromwell's letter of five lines on this important ſubject. [x] As to the true grounds of fitting out this fleet, and the ends it was intended to anſwer, conſult Clarendon, Whitlock, Ludlow, &c. [y] This account I take from two liſts in Thurloe's collection, and from one in MS.

gaging the powers of the north to enter into an equitable peace [z].

BEFORE the admiral ſailed, the parliament thought proper to tie him down by very ſtrict inſtructions, which left him no real power, but in conjunction with their commiſſioners colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Robert Honeywood*, and Mr. *Thomas Boon*; and at the ſame time they took an occaſion to ſhew they had no great kindneſs for him, by giving away his regiment of horſe; ſo that we may ſuppoſe he left *England* in none of the warmeſt diſpoſitions for their ſervice [a]. When he arrived in *The Sound*, he took his ſhare with others miniſters in negotiation, and made it ſufficiently evident, that his genius was equally capable of ſhining in the cabinet, as of commanding at ſea, or on ſhore. While he was thus employed, king *Charles* being very well informed as to his temper, principles, and ſtrict conjunction with the protector's family, thought this a proper time (that family being entirely laid aſide) to make a trial of his affections; and therefore ſent a perſon with two letters, one from himſelf, and the other from chancellor *Hyde*, to be delivered to him, if poſſible, without the privity of his collegues. The ſcheme was rational, and well laid; but the meſſenger very indifferently choſen. He was one whoſe loyalty was apt to dance upon his tongue in thoſe perilous times, when wiſe men kept it cloſe in their hearts; and it was with ſome difficulty, that the admiral preſerved him from ſuffering by his indiſcretion. Yet the letters and perſuaſions of a near relation of his,

[z] Theſe letters are in Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. vii. and in lord Sandwich's Journal, [a] Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. vii. p. 680, 681.

his, who undertook to ſtate the merits of the royal cauſe fairly, had ſuch an effect on admiral *Montague's* mind, that he returned immediately to his duty, with all that warmth and ſincerity incident to great minds, conſcious of former failings. The ſervice the king expected from him, was, a ſpeedy return to *England*, that the fleet might be ready to act in conjunction with Sir *George Booth*, and other perſons of diſtinction, who were diſpoſed to hazard their lives for the ſervice of their country: on weighing which propoſal, Mr. *Montague* found it ſo plauſible, that he reſolved to run any hazard, rather than not contribute as much as in him lay to put it in execution; conceiving that, if this opportunity was miſſed, another equally fortunate might not quickly happen [b].

COLONEL *Algernoon Sidney* was a man of quick parts, and deep penetration: he ſoon diſcerned ſome change in Mr. *Montague's* conduct, and purſued his diſcoveries ſo cloſely, that he miſſed very little of coming at his whole ſecret. The admiral, obſerving his ſuſpicions, called a council of war, and therein made a clear and cloſe ſpeech, in which he ſhewed them plainly the little hopes there were of doing any thing for the honour of *England*, by remaining where they were: that to fight they had no authority; and if they were to remain neuter, they might as well ſail home. He then laid before them the accounts he had received from his native country, of the great ſtruggles between the army and the parliament, whence he took occaſion to hint, that themſelves had a great ſtake there; and that if a new government was to be ſettled, ſome reſpect ought to be had to the fleet. He concluded with ſaying,

[b] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 723.

that he readily ſubmitted his ſentiments to a free debate, and that he was determined to act according to their judgment: but that one thing muſt be noted, proviſions were already become ſcarce, it was very difficult to obtain ſupplies; and therefore, if they reſolved to ſtay, they muſt reſolve alſo to live at ſhort allowance. The queſtion was ſoon decided, and, in conſequence of the council's opinion, admiral *Montague* weighed immediately and ſailed to *England* [c]. On his arrival, he founds things in a very unexpected ſituation; Sir *George Booth* in the *Tower*, the parliament reſtored to their authority, and a warm charge againſt himſelf come to hand from colonel *Sidney*. Immediately on his arrival he ſet out for *London*, attended the parliament, and gave an account of his conduct with ſo much wiſdom and eloquence, that even ſuch as diſliked it, knew not what to object, and were, therefore, very well ſatisfied with diſmiſſing him from his command; to which *Lawſon* was appointed, a rigid anabaptiſt, and one in whom they had the greateſt confidence [d].

AFTER ſuch an eſcape, Mr. *Montague*, as it was very natural, withdrew to his own eſtate, with a deſign to enjoy in privacy and peace, the remainder of his life; and this made him concern himſelf very little, if at all, in the following public tranſactions, before *Monk*'s coming into *England*. After this, when that general ſhewed a deſire, that admiral *Montague* ſhould be reſtored to his command, he ſent privately to the king for his approbation, before he would accept it. Having obtained this, he ſent his majeſty

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[c] Heath's chronicle, p. 426. Memoirs of the reſtauration a MS.
[d] Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath. As to Sidney's charge, the reader may find it in Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. vii. p. 731.

a liſt of ſuch officers in the fleet as might be confided in, and of ſuch as he apprehended muſt be reduced by force. He likewiſe deſired to know, whether the king had any aſſurance of the general; but was ſo cautious, as to deſire no notice might be taken to his excellency how his inclinations ſtood [e]. On his coming on board the fleet, he found things ſtrangely altered, and *Lawſon*, from whom he expected moſt oppoſition, as ready to ſerve the king as himſelf: upon which he laid by all reſerve, and, as ſoon as he received the king's letter directed to himſelf and general *Monk*, he ſailed with the fleet to *Holland*, leaving only two or three ſhips to attend the parliament commiſſioners. This was a very warm teſtimony of his affection for the king's ſervice, and as ſuch was received by his majeſty; but when it was obſerved, that the parliament commiſſioners looked upon it as a mark of diſreſpect, the king was pleaſed to cover Mr. *Montague*, by ſending him an order that was antedated. Soon after he had the honour to convoy his majeſty to *England*, who, two days after his landing at *Dover*, ſent Sir *Edward Walker*, garter king at arms to deliver him his declaratory letters, with the ribbond and george of the moſt noble order of the garter, which he preſented him on the 28th of *May*, in the morning, in his ſhip then riding in the *Downs* [f].

AMONG the honours conferred on ſuch as had been particularly inſtrumental in reſtoring his majeſty to his juſt rights, our admiral had his ſhare, and by letters patent dated the 12th of *July* 1660, he was created baron *Monta-*

[e] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 731. [f] Walker's hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, a MS. p. 104, penes Joh. Anſtis arm.

gue of *St. Neots* in the county of *Huntingdon*, viſcount *Hinchingbrooke* in the ſame county, and earl of *Sandwich* in *Kent*, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council, made maſter of the king's wardrobe, admiral of the narrow ſeas, and lieutenant-admiral to the duke of *York*, as lord high-admiral of *England*. At his majeſty's coronation, his lordſhip carried St. *Edward*'s ſtaff, and was now looked upon as one of the king's principal miniſters, as well as the perſon chiefly intruſted with the care of the fleet [z]. He conſtantly attended the council, when any tranſactions relating to foreign affairs were under debate, and always gave his opinion like a good ſubject and a true patriot. When the marriage with the *Infanta* was concluded, he brought her majeſty over, and performed other ſervices as has been already mentioned [b].

His lordſhip has been aſperſed, for joining, as is ſurmiſed, with the duke of *Albemarle*, in the project for giving up *Dunkirk* to the *French*. I have already examined Mr. *Echard*'s account of this matter, and his inſinuating, that the earl of *Sandwich* had ſpoke of *Dunkirk* as a place of no great importance; which determined the king to part with it [i]. But certainly, when he wrote this, he was more tender of the earl of *Clarendon*'s character than the truth; for he could not but know, that the count *d'Eſtrades*, who negotiated the treaty for the ſale of *Dunkirk*, charges the whole tranſaction upon *Clarendon*, and repreſents *Albemarle* and *Sandwich* to have been againſt it [k]. *Burnet* ſays, all the military men were bribed by *France*, and no doubt

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[z] Pat. 12. Car. II. Walker's hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, MS. [b] See p. 228. [i] Hiſtory of England, p. 801. [k] See d'Eſtrades's letters, p. 279.

doubt includes the earl of *Sandwich* amongſt them [l]. I will take this opportunity of giving the reader ſome further hints towards a fair account of this matter, and of the ſhare this noble lord had in it.

THE king being diſtreſſed for money, the ſale of *Dunkirk* was thought of as a means to ſupply him. Upon this a letter was written from *Hampton-Court*, the 29th of *June* 1662, to invite a *French* miniſter over, in order to tranſact an affair of great conſequence; but what that affair was, the letter did not make appear [m]. It was ſome time before the count *d'Eſtrades* arrived with the *French* king's full power to negotiate this buſineſs. After his arrival, he acquainted his maſter with this propoſal about *Dunkirk*, and that it was the chancellor who had made it [n]. In ſubſequent letters he affirms, that the king, the duke of *York*, and the chancellor were for it; the treaſurer, the general, and the admiral againſt it [o]. This, however, is to be underſtood of the ſale of *Dunkirk* to the *French*; for the thing was propoſed but by halves at the council; and at firſt, the ſtrength and importance of the place was talked of: upon which the earl of *Sandwich* (who knew it as well as any man) ſaid, that the coaſt in the vicinity of *Dunkirk*, was generally ſo tempeſtuous, and the ground ſo rolling upon every ſtorm, that there never could be any certain ſteerage to the port [p]. This was the truth, and nothing more; yet was the earl far from thinking that it ought to be put into the hands of the *French*, though he

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[l] Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 282, of the Dutch edition in ſix volumes octavo. [m] D'Eſtrades memoirs, p. 280. [n] This letter is dated Auguſt 27, 1662. [o] This appears from the French king's anſwer to the letter before-cited. [p] Which is the expreſſion mentioned by Echard.

he judged it too expenſive for his maſter to keep; and, therefore, he declared for demoliſhing it [q]. This not being reliſhed, the duke of *Albemarle* called for Sir *Edward Harley*, who told the king plainly, that the artillery and military ſtores were worth more, than the *French* were to give for the place; and then it was propoſed to annex *Dunkirk* to the king's dominions, and ſo put the expence upon the parliament [r]. How theſe propoſitions came to be rejected, I cannot ſay; but it is plain, that though the earl of *Sandwich* did not ſet a higher value upon *Dunkirk*, than, in the condition it was then, the place deſerved; yet he never deſired to ſee it fall into the hands of the *French*, as has been very falſly, and I very much ſuſpect, maliciouſly aſſerted.

WHEN the *Dutch* war began, in 1664, the earl of *Sandwich* went heartily into the meaſure, as conceiving it for the honour and intereſt of *England*; and when the duke of *York* took upon him the command of the fleet as high admiral, his lordſhip commanded the *Blue* ſquadron, and by his induſtry and care, abundance of the enemy's ſhips were taken, and the beſt part of their *Bourdeaux* fleet [s]. In the great battle, fought on the 3d of *June*, 1665, wherein the *Dutch* loſt their admiral *Opdam*, and had eighteen men of war taken, and fourteen deſtroyed, a large ſhare of the honour of the victory was juſtly given to the conduct of the earl of *Sandwich*; who, about noon, fell, with the *Blue* ſquadron, into the center of the enemy's fleet;

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[q] The French king takes notice of this in his anſwer to count d'Eſtrades of Auguſt 27. [r] See Landſdown's vindication of Monk, amongſt his works, vol. ii. p. 144. [s] Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 819, 820. Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Lediard.

fleet; and thereby began that confuſion which ended, ſoon after, in a plain flight [t]. Moſt of our hiſtorians agree, that if this victory had been properly purſued, the *Dutch* fleet had been totally ruined; and the neglect of this advantage, is, as I have elſewhere obſerved, by ſome charged on the duke of *York*: yet *Burnet*, who pretends to a very particular knowledge of this matter, has certainly advanced a direct falſity about it; ſince he affirms, that *Brounker* carried orders, as from the duke to admiral *Penn*, to ſlack ſail, whereas in truth, theſe orders were carried to Sir *John Harman*, who was captain of the duke's ſhip, and he unluckily obeyed them [u]. This deſtroys all the reſt of the biſhop's ſtory, about a council of war, and *Penn*'s opinion therein; that the *Dutch* were more formidable, and would fight the better for being beat. However, on the return of the *Engliſh* navy, and a report to his majeſty of what had paſſed at ſea, the king declared the duke of *York* ſhould not return to the command of the fleet; but that it ſhould be left to the earl of *Sandwich*, who was ordered to employ his utmoſt diligence to put it as ſpeedily as poſſible in a condition to return to the *Dutch* coaſt; which he accordingly performed [w].

THE earl of *Sandwich* ſailed on the fifth of *July*, with ſixty men of war to the coaſt of *Holland*, bearing the royal

[t] Columna roſtrata, p. 160. [u] Kennet's compleat hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 277, 278. Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 820. It is likewiſe ſo ſtated in the parliamentary enquiry: but Sir John Harman's reputation for courage, was ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed, that to have mentioned him, would not ſo well have anſwered the purpoſe of reflecting on the duke. [w] Philips, Kennet, Echard. In the earl of Clarendon's ſpeech, as chancellor, to the parliament at Oxford, October the 10th, 1665, the keeping the duke at home is repreſented as a mark of the king's tenderneſs for his royal highneſs's perſon.

royal ſtandard of *England*, and having under him ſeveral of the braveſt ſeamen that perhaps ever bore the *Engliſh* flags. Finding the *Dutch* fleet not at ſea, and having information that both their *Eaſt-India* and *Smyrna* fleets were to return home north about, he reſolved to ſteer for the coaſt of *Norway*, in hopes of meeting with them; nor was this a difficult thing, ſince it was ſoon after known, that they had taken ſhelter in the port of *Bergben* *. We have already given ſome account of this action, but reſerved a more particular detail of it for this place, to which it properly belongs; the rather becauſe the attempt on the *Dutch* fleet in the harbour of *Bergben*, was the occaſion of our war with *Denmark*, which ſome have ventured to charge on the earl of *Sandwich*, as brought about by his ill management; whereas in truth, he did every thing that could be expected from an experienced officer, and a man of honour, as we ſhall ſhew in few words, becauſe our naval hiſtorians are very unaccountably ſilent on this head.

Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, was then envoy at the court of *Denmark*, and he finding a diſpoſition in that prince, to fill his coffers at the expence of the *Dutch*, propoſed to him, as the moſt effectual way of doing it, his ſeizing of their fleets in his harbour, which would indemnify him from all the loſſes he complained of, and bring into his treaſury many millions of dollars. The king of *Denmark* readily embraced the project, and offered only one objection, which was, his own want of force to execute it. Sir *Gilbert* immediately anſwered this, by ſaying, that he did not doubt, but the king of *England* would furniſh

* Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville.

niſh him with a fleet ſufficient to make prize of all the *Dutch* ſhips, on condition that the profit of the expedition ſhould be divided between them; to which his *Daniſh* majeſty very readily aſſented [y]. This propoſal being tranſmitted to the *Engliſh* court, was readily cloſed with, and advice thereof ſent to the earl of *Sandwich*. As this was a tranſaction very little to the king of *Denmark*'s honour, ſo he inſiſted upon it, that the agreement ſhould not be put into writing; and this nicety ſpoiled the whole affair. For when the earl of *Sandwich* had intelligence of *de Ruyter*'s being retired with the *Eaſt-India* fleet into *Berghen*, he reſolved not to ſlip ſo fair an opportunity, but to ſail thither with the utmoſt expedition. He ſent, however, Mr. *Warden*, a gentleman of diſtinction, to ſir *Gilbert Talbot*, to inform him, that he was determined not to loſe the opportunity of attacking the *Dutch* fleet, and therefore deſired that he would ſend him a diſtinct account of the nature of the king of *Denmark*'s engagements, that he might the better know what he was doing. Sir *Gilbert* took ſome pains to comply with this requeſt; but by various accidents they were fruſtrated, and the earl of *Sandwich* arrived in thoſe ſeas without hearing any thing from the envoy [z]. Sir *Thomas Tyddiman* being ſent with a ſtout ſquadron, to block up the port of *Berghen*, appeared before it on the firſt of *Auguſt*, 1665.

The

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[y] A true and perfect narrative of the late ſecret negotiation in Denmark, by ſir Gilbert Talbot, MS. This piece was in the hands of biſhop Burnet, and of Mr. Echard, who have made uſe of it in their hiſtories. I have likewiſe conſulted another piece publiſhed by authority, entitled, "A true deduction of all the tranſactions "between his majeſty of Great-Britain, and the king of Denmark; "which differs in many reſpects from ſir Gilbert Talbot's rela-"tion." [z] Sir Gilbert Talbot's relation before-cited.

The firſt thing he did, was, to ſend a gentleman to the governor, to inform him of the deſign, and to know what orders he had. To this the governor anſwered, that he had none, but that he expected them by the poſt in two or three days; and therefore deſired the *Engliſh* would deſiſt from making any attempt for that time. The ſame evening, however, the caſtle fired upon the *Engliſh* fleet, and did ſome miſchief; and the *Dutch* were ſuffered to bring ſeventy pieces of cannon on ſhore, to fortify their line. Admiral *Tyddiman* perceiving this, called a council of war, wherein he laid the whole matter before his officers, who, after a full and free debate, reſolved to loſe no time, but to attack the *Dutch* fleet the next morning; and this for three reaſons: I. Becauſe the *Daniſh* governor had given them no direct anſwer, nor had promiſed them any ſort of favour or aſſiſtance. II. If the *Dutch* had further time given them to fortify themſelves, an attempt might become impracticable. III. That the grand *Dutch* fleet was now at ſea, and might probably come into their relief[a], before the *Daniſh* governor would acknowledge his receiving orders.

THIS reſolution taken, ſir *Thomas Tyddiman* gave all his captains ſtrict charge, that they ſhould not fire againſt the caſtles or ports, and ſhould alſo be very careful to direct all their ſhot low, at the hulls of the *Dutch* ſhips, to prevent, as far as they could, any damage to the town that lay behind the ſhips; both which directions all the ſeamen did unanimouſly agree were performed, according as, in the ſeveral conferences with the governor, thoſe directions

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[a] Deduction of all tranſactions between his majeſty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 11.

ctions were promiſed to be given. The diſpute continued till near eight o'clock: during which time, it is true, the caſtle hung out a white flag, but to what intent the *Engliſh* could not gueſs; for all the ſeamen, whoſe ſtation was neareſt to it, agreed alſo in this point, that the caſtle never left firing, from ſome quarter or other of it; imagining from thence, that the *Dutchmen*, who might have been taken in for the ſtrengthening the caſtle, had fired againſt the general's orders, during the time of hanging out the white flag, as indeed it proved; for there were at leaſt three hundred of them there.

THE greateſt damage that the *Engliſh* received, was from the caſtle, which, by accidental ſhots, cut ſome hawſers that kept the firſt line together; and ſo, to avoid falling foul one on another, they were forced from their ſtations, and when they were out of the reach of the *Dutch* guns, the fort upon the outmoſt point on the ſtarboard ſide, ſhot at them afreſh, the guns of which the *Engliſh* had ſilenced during the engagement, but in their going off, had many of their men killed by them. Notwithſtanding which, the *Engliſh* came that day to anchor within the rocks of *Norway*, five leagues diſtance from *Berghen*, having no pilots that could ſhew them anchoring-hold nearer, for ſo many ſhips together.

WHILE the *Engliſh* were repairing their ſhips, the *Daniſh* governor endeavoured to draw them into a new negotiation, affirming, that now he had received his maſter's orders, and was content to afford them what aſſiſtance he could: but, after mature deliberation, it was not thought proper to truſt to theſe promiſes [b]; and therefore on

[b] True deduction of the tranſactions between his majeſty of Great-Britain, &c. p. 16, 17. It muſt be allowed, that theſe facts

on the laſt of *Auguſt*, the earl ſailed with the reſt of his fleet towards the coaſt of *Holland*; but ſuffering much by a ſtorm, his ſhips were carried back again to the northward, and on the 4th of *September*, he met with four *Dutch Eaſt-India* men, and ſeveral other of their merchant-ſhips under a good convoy; and though the ſtormy weather favoured their eſcape, yet he took eight good men of war, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* ſhips, and twenty ſail of their merchant-men. Alſo on the 9th of *September*, a part of our fleet fell in with eighteen of the *Hollanders*, the greateſt part of which they took, with four *Dutch* men of war, and above a thouſand priſoners [c].

On his return, he was received by the king with diſtinguiſhed marks of favour: but his royal highneſs's conduct in the great engagement, on the 3d of *June*, being much cenſured; and the king then declaring the duke of *York* ſhould go no more to ſea, and the earl's conduct in the ſame action, being as much applauded; leſt his continuance in the ſole command of the fleet might be any diſadvantage to the duke, our affairs in *Spain* requiring an extraordinary

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facts are contradicted by the MS. Account of ſir Gilbert Talbot, to which both Echard and Burnet have adhered, and conſequently lay all the blame on ſir Thomas Tyddiman, and the earl of Sandwich. But, beſides *the Deductions* being a public paper, own'd by king Charles II. and conſequently more authentic than ſir Gilbert Talbot's relation; there is, in the former, a copy of the governor's letter, which flatly contradicts the ſubſtance of the ſame letter, given in ſir Gilbert's account, which I take to be, at bottom, rather an apology for his own conduct. The truth ſeems to be, that the earl of Sandwich conſidered this whole negotiation as a diſhonourable thing; and indeed it is very apparent, that if no reſpect at all had been had to this agreement, but the Engliſh had attacked the enemy's fleet without giving them time to fortify themſelves, the whole, or at leaſt the greateſt part, muſt have been ſunk or taken. [c] Kennet, Burchet, Echard, Columna Roſtrata, Rapin.

traordinary embaſſy to be ſent into that kingdom, his majeſty diſpatched the earl of *Sandwich* to the court of *Madrid*, to mediate a peace between the crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal* [d]. This negotiation was of equal difficulty and importance: we had many things to aſk from *Spain*, in favour of our trade; and there was nothing to which the *Spaniards* were leſs inclined than to make peace with *Portugal*, and own it for an independant kingdom. The earl of *Sandwich* however, managed his buſineſs with ſuch addreſs, that he concluded a moſt advantagious treaty with the court of *Spain*, conſiſting of forty articles; and this too in a ſurprizing ſhort ſpace of time, if we conſider the nature of *Spaniſh* negotiations; for his lordſhip arrived at *Madrid* on the 28th of *May*, 1666, and the treaty was ſigned the 13th of *May*, 1667 [e]. His lordſhip applied himſelf next to the other part of his commiſſion, and by inſiſting principally on the intereſts of *Spain*, and making it evident, that the continuance of the *Portugal* war would be the total ruin of their affairs, and that a peace might be made without the leaſt wound to their honour, at that juncture; he ſo far prevailed, as to gain the queen of *Spain*'s conſent, that a treaty ſhould be ſet on foot under the mediation of the crown of *Great-Britain*. The great and unuſual confidence repoſed in him upon this occaſion, was managed with ſuch dexterity by the earl of *Sandwich*, that in three weeks after his arrival at *Liſbon*, he concluded a peace between the two nations, to their mutual ſatisfaction. This treaty was ſigned the 13th of *February*, 1668 [f]. and as it was extremely advantagious

[d] Philips's Chronicle, p. 545. [e] Kennet's compleat Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 293. Philips's Chronicle, p. 565. [f] Pointer's chronological hiſtorian, vol. i. p. 223.

to the *Portugueze* (who, conſidering the diſtracted ſtate of their government, had very little reaſon to expect ſo fortunate an event) it was no leſs honourable to the crown of *Great-Britain*.

Upon the concluſion of theſe treaties, the earl of *Sandwich* was complimented both by the king and duke under their hands; and his great ſervices acknowledged in ſuch terms as they deſerved; which letters do no leſs honour to the memory of the princes who wrote them, than they do his, to whom they were written. Many of the diſpatches penned by his lordſhip in this embaſſy have been made public, and remain ſo many indelible marks of his wiſdom, integrity, and public ſpirit. They ſerve alſo to ſhew how unneceſſary a qualification cunning is in a public miniſter, for they are written with a plainneſs that cannot be counterfeited, and ſhew in their compoſition a ſtrength of genius capable of carrying its point, by ſetting truth in a proper light, without the aſſiſtance of any of thoſe little arts, which are ſo much and ſo undeſervedly admired in modern politicians. As he was too quick-ſighted to be deceived, he had too much candour to impoſe on any with whom he tranſacted; and when this temper of his was thoroughly known, he was able to do all things in *Spain*; for being well informed of the nobility of his birth, and his great actions at ſea, and having themſelves received repeated proofs of his ſtrict regard to honour, they readily believed every thing he ſaid, and willingly aſſented to whatever he propoſed. After the concluſion of the treaty with *Portugal*, he returned again to *Madrid*, where he ſpent ſome time in ſettling affairs, and confirming that court in the opinion, that *Britain* was its moſt uſeful and natural ally, and then taking his leave, arrived

arrived *September* 19, 1668, at *Portſmouth* [a]. On his return to court, he was received with all imaginable teſtimonies of reſpect by the king and duke, who were equally ſollicitous in fixing him to a good opinion of thoſe meaſures upon which they were then entering.

THE trade to our colonies by this time was become very conſiderable, and growing daily more and more advantagious to the nation, his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to erect a council for inſpecting matters relating to trade, and for the ſpecial encouragement of the plantations. As this was in itſelf a very popular act, ſo king *Charles*, who knew, as well as any prince, the art of pleaſing his ſubjects, when he thought fit to practiſe it, judged it convenient to put at the head of this new council, a man as acceptable in his character, as the project was in its nature; and this determined him to the choice of the earl of *Sandwich*, who *Auguſt* 3d, 1670, was ſworn preſident of the council of plantations, and in that quality he ſwore the duke of *York*, prince *Rupert*, the duke of *Buckingham*, and other perſons of the higheſt quality, members thereof [b]. In this capacity, as well as in that of vice-admiral and privy-counſellor, he gave no ſmall diſturbance to the CABAL: for in the firſt place, he was a ſincere and zealous proteſtant; next, he was a true *Engliſhman*, loyal to his prince, but ſteady in the cauſe of his country, an enemy alike to faction and arbitrary power. He was, beſides, for regarding no qualification but merit in the preferments of the navy, declaring upon all occaſions againſt ſhewing favour to the relations of peers, or other perſons of diſtinction, to the prejudice of ſuch as had

[a] Ibid. p. 226. [b] See the gazette of that date.

ſerved longer or better. This rendered him the darling of the fleet, who, after the death of the duke of *Albemarle*, looked upon him as their father and protector; which, however, raiſed him a great many enemies amongſt ſuch as could not bear the thwarting of their private intereſts, though for the ſake of the public good. The ſecret hiſtories of thoſe times, (to which I muſt own I do not always give credit) inſinuate, that his royal highneſs the duke of *York* was diſpleaſed with him; but, however, that might be, it is very certain, that the king had always a juſt ſenſe of the earl of *Sandwich*'s ſervices, and ſhewed him upon every occaſion, as much favour and eſteem as he did to any of his ſubjects[1].

On the breaking out of the laſt *Dutch* war, his lordſhip went to ſea with the duke of *York*, and commanded the *Blue* ſquadron, the *French* admiral count *d'Eſtrees* commanding the *White*. The fleet was at ſea in the beginning of the month of *May*, and towards the end of that month came to an anchor in *Southwold* bay, in order to take in water. There we are told, that on the 27th, which was *Whitmonday*, there was great merry-making on board the fleet, and many officers and ſeamen were permitted to go on ſhore, and were at *Southwold*, *Dunwich*, and *Aldborough*. Things being in this ſituation, and the weather withal very hazy, the earl of *Sandwich*, delivered it as his opinion at a council held in the evening, that, the wind ſtanding as it did, the fleet rode in danger of being ſurprized by the *Dutch*; and, therefore, he thought it adviſeable to weigh anchor, and get out to ſea: to this the duke of *York*, it is ſaid, made ſuch an anſwer as ſeemed to hint that the earl

[1] See biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 151.

earl ſpoke out of fear; which inſinuation, if it was really made, was certainly barbarous and unjuſt [k]. I cannot ſay who it was firſt reported this ſtory, but of this we may be poſitive, that, as a certain author has reported it, it could not poſſibly be true [l]. Several very judicious perſons have inclined to think that it was framed long after the tranſaction, in order to heighten ſome circumſtances which we ſhall preſently relate.

[k] Echard's hiſtory, p. 883. Columna Roſtrata, p. 217. [l] This author is biſhop Burnet, who in the hiſtory of his own times ſays. "I ſay nothing of the ſea-fight in Solhay, in which de Ruyter "had the glory of ſurprizing the Engliſh fleet, when they were "thinking leſs of engaging the enemy, than of an extravagant "preparation for the uſual diſorders of the 29th of May; which "he prevented, by engaging them on the 28th."——It is an odd whim of this prelate, that becauſe people might be diſpoſed to be drunk on the 29th, they ſhould be out of their wits on the 28th. Now the truth of the matter was, that the feaſting happened on the 27th, becauſe it was the Monday in whitſun-week; but ſome people have a great mind to ſet a black mark upon the 29th of May, and on the character of general Monk for the ſame reaſon. Yet let us once more hear his lordſhip——"The ad-"miral of the blue ſquadron was burnt by a fire-ſhip, after a "long engagement with a Dutch ſhip, much inferior to him in "ſtrength. In it the earl of Sandwich periſhed, with a great "many about him, who would not leave him, as he would not "leave his ſhip, by a piece of obſtinate courage, to which he "was provoked by an indecent reflection the duke made on an "advice he had offered, of drawing near the ſhore; and avoiding "an engagement, as if in that he took more care of himſelf, "than of the king's honour."——We have ſeen above, that the earl's advice was to put to ſea, that they might engage the ſooner, and not be ſurprized. The Dutch Gazette treated the earl's memory better than this biſhop; for in it we find, "The earl of "Sandwich engaged for ſeveral hours with many of our men of "war, diſabled ſeven of our ſhips, among which was lieutenant-ad-"miral Van Ghent's, vice-admiral Van Neſſe's, and captain "Brakel's; and after putting off three fire-ſhips, was at laſt "burnt by the fourth."

On the 28th of *May*, between two and three in the morning, the fleet was informed of the approach of the *Dutch*: upon which, his royal highneſs made the ſignal for weighing anchor, and getting out to ſea; and the occaſion being of ſo preſſing a nature, many of the captains were obliged to cut their cables. The *Blue* ſquadron, however, was out firſt, and in good order; the *Red* next; and the *White* in its proper ſtation, much a-ſtern [m]. The earl of *Sandwich* in his fine ſhip the *Royal James*, which carried one hundred pieces of cannon, and about eight hundred men, began the fight, and fell furiouſly on the ſquadron of *Van Ghent*. This he did, not from a principle of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by an act of heroic valour, for he knew his character was too well eſtabliſhed to need that: his view was to give the reſt of the fleet time to form; and in this he carried his point. Captain *Brakel* in the *Great Holland*, a ſixty gun ſhip, depending on the aſſiſtance of his ſquadron, attacked the *Royal James*, but was ſoon diſabled, as were ſeveral other men of war; and three fire-ſhips were ſunk. By this time moſt of his men were killed, and the hull of the *Royal James* ſo pierced with ſhot, that it was impoſſible to carry her off. In this diſtreſs he might have been relieved by his vice-admiral ſir *Joſeph Jordan*, if that gentleman had not been more ſollicitous about aſſiſting the duke. When therefore he ſaw him ſail by, heedleſs of the condition in which he lay, he ſaid to thoſe who were about him, *There is nothing left for us now but to defend the ſhip to the laſt man*, and thoſe who knew him readily underſtood, that by the laſt man he meant himſelf. When a fourth fire-ſhip had grappled him

[m] I take this from Mr. Saville's Letter to the earl of Arlington, then ſecretary of ſtate, and publiſhed by authority.

him, he begged his captain ſir *Richard Haddock*, and all his ſervants to get into the boat and ſave themſelves; which they did: yet ſome of the ſailors would not quit the admiral, but ſtaid and endeavoured at his command to put out the fire, which, in ſpite of all their efforts they could not do, and ſo they periſhed together, the ſhip blowing up about noon[n]. The *Dutch* writers give a different account of this matter; they ſay, that the earl and one of his ſons were ſmothered in the long-boat, by the crew jumping in upon them[o]; which cannot be true, ſince the genuine cauſe of the earl's remaining on board was, his apprehenſion that he might be taken in the long boat, and made a ſpectacle to the *Dutch*; the ſame thought which occurred to the duke of *Albemarle*, and determined him, in caſe no other way was left, to blow up his ſhip and himſelf. Such as aſcribe this reſolution to the reſentment of what his royal highneſs had ſaid the evening before, aſperſe one great man's character in order to tarniſh another's. It is a ſtrange pleaſure that ſome people take in attributing the nobleſt actions to the worſt motives, and always preſuming that to be the ſpring of a man's conduct which ſeems leaſt fit to be ſo. In this caſe from the temper of the perſon, and the circumſtances attending his death, there is the higheſt reaſon in the world to preſume, that he ſacrificed himſelf from a principle of public ſpirit: why then ſhould we be ſo inhuman as to fancy he did it from private pique? The ancient *Romans* would have had nobler notions: they would have ſaid, he devoted himſelf to his country, and merited, by his manner of dying, the victory which enſued.

[n] Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, de Neuville. [o] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 208.

His lordſhip's body was found near a fortnight, afterwards, and the king teſtified, by the honours he paid to the corps, how much he admired the man; how ſenſible of his hard fate, and how willing he was to mingle with the duſt of his anceſtors, the remains of ſuch as died gloriouſly in their country's ſervice. This fact ſtands thus in the *Gazette*.

Harwich, June 10.

"THIS day the body of the right honourable *Edward* "earl of *Sandwich*, being by the order upon his coat diſco- "vered floating on the ſea by one of his majeſty's ketches, "was taken up, and brought into this port; where ſir "*Charles Littleton* the governor receiving it, took imme- "diate care for its embalming and honourable diſpoſing, "till his majeſty's pleaſure ſhould be known concerning it. "For the obtaining of which, his majeſty was attended at "*Whitehall* the next day, by the maſter of the ſaid veſ- "ſel, who by ſir *Charles Littleton*'s order, was ſent to "preſent his majeſty with the *George* found about the "body of the ſaid earl, which remained at the time of "its taking up in every part unblemiſhed, ſaving ſome "impreſſions made by the fire upon his face and breaſt. "Upon which his majeſty out of his princely regard to "the great deſervings of the ſaid earl, and his unexampled "performances in this laſt act of his life, hath reſolved "to have his body brought up to *London*, there at his "charge to receive the rites of funeral, due to his great "quality and merits"[p].

"THE earl of *Sandwich*'s body being taken out of one "of his majeſty's yatchts at *Deptford*, on the 3d of *July* 1672,

[p] Gazette, June 13, 1672.

" 1672, and laid in the moſt ſolemn manner in a ſump-
" tuous barge, proceeded by water to *Weſtminſter-Bridge*,
" attended by the king's barges, his royal highneſs the duke
" of *York's*; as alſo with the ſeveral barges of the nobility,
" lord-mayor, and the ſeveral companies of the city of
" *London*, adorned ſuitable to the melancholly occaſion,
" with trumpets and other muſic, that ſounded the deep-
" eſt notes. On paſſing by the *Tower*, the great guns
" there were diſcharged, as well as at *Whitehall*, and about
" five o'clock in the evening the body being taking out of
" the barge at *Weſtminſter-Bridge*, there was a proceſſion
" to the abby-church, with the higheſt magnificence. Eight
" earls where aſſiſtant to his ſon *Edward* earl of *Sandwich*,
" chief mourner, and moſt of the nobility and perſons of
" quality in town gave their aſſiſtance to his interment, in
" the duke of *Albemarl*'s vault in the north ſide of king
" *Henry* VII. chapel, where his remains are depoſited [q]."

AFTER this account of the reſpect ſhewn by his ſove-reign to his dead body, it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin ſome inſtances of the tribute paid by illuſtrious perſons to his memory. We will begin with the late duke of *Buck-inghamſhire*, who having given us an account of the battle in *Southwold-Bay*, concludes it thus. " The enemy had
" no ſucceſs to boaſt, except the burning our *Royal*
" *James*; which, having on board her not only a thou-
" ſand of our beſt men, but the earl of *Sandwich* himſelf,
" vice-admiral of *England*, was enough almoſt to ſtile it
" a victory on their ſide; ſince his merit as to ſea-affairs,
" was moſt extraordinary in all kinds [r]." Biſhop *Parker*, after a pompous detail of this bloody diſpute, proceeds in

theſe

[q] Gazette, July 4, 1672.

[r] Duke of Buckinghamſhire's works, vol. ii. p. 15.

theſe words. "The *Engliſh* loſt many voluntiers, and "ten captains of ſhips; amongſt theſe were the earl of "*Sandwich*, and *Digby*, ſon of the earl of *Briſtol*; who, "almoſt alone, fought with the third ſquadron of the "*Dutch*: yet, at length, when *Digby* was ſhot through "the heart, and the ſhip that he commanded, was bored "through with innumerable ſhots, the ſeamen with dif-"ficulty brought her into the harbour; but *Sandwich* "having miſerably ſhattered ſeven of their ſhips, and beat "off three fire-ſhips, at length being over-powered with "numbers, fell a ſacrifice for his country. A gentleman "adorned with all the virtues of *Alcibiades*, and untainted "by any of his vices; of high birth; capable of any buſi-"neſs; full of wiſdom; a great commander at ſea and "land, and alſo learned and eloquent, affable, liberal and "magnificent[s]". *Gerard Brant*, who is never partial to any but his own countrymen, after a full account of the valour with which the earl defended himſelf, and which he ſtiles unfortunate courage, is pleaſed to ſay, "Such was the fate of this noble peer, who was vice-"admiral of *England*; a man equally brave, knowing, "and of a moſt engaging behaviour; one who had ren-"dered his ſovereign the greateſt ſervices, not only in the "field, but in the cabinet, and as an ambaſſador in "foreign courts[t]". Sir *Edward Walker*, who wrote an hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, a work which it were to be wiſhed his ſucceſſors in his office had continued with like impartiality, gives the earl of *Sandwich* this character, "He was a perſon of extraordinary "parts,

[s] Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 151. [t] Vie de Ruyter, Liv. xi.

" parts, courage, fidelity, and affability, and juſtly merit-
" ed all the honours that were conferred upon him "[a].

THESE teſtimonies, from friends and foes (for the duke of *Buckinghamſhire* and the biſhop of *Oxford* were of a party not much inclined to favour the earl of *Sandwich*); from ſtrangers as well as his own countrymen, are inconteſtable proofs of this great man's abilities, and therefore I was in ſome doubt, whether I ſhould add the following poetical compliment to his memory; but, when I conſidered, that it might prove a hint to ſome abler poet, to do juſtice to ſo ſublime a ſubject, I thought the reader would not be diſpleaſed with the ſight of a few lines which have not hitherto been publiſhed.

EPITAPH.

ADORN'D with titles, but from virtue great,
At ſea a Neptune, Neſtor *in the ſtate;*
Alike in council, and in fight, renown'd,
In action always, with ſucceſs ſtill crown'd;
A ſoldier, ſeaman, ſtateſman,——here He lies;
No heart more honeſt, and no head more wiſe:
Though brave, yet gentle; though ſincere, not rude;
Juſtice in camps, in courts he truth purſu'd.
Living, he rais'd a deathleſs, ſpotleſs name,
And dying, ſoar'd above the reach of fame.

Reader, if Engliſh, *ſtop the falling tear!*
Grief ſhould not wait on him who felt no fear:

He

[a] Hiſtorical account of the knights of the garter, MS. before cited.

He wants not pity——could his aſhes ſpeak,
Theſe generous ſounds would from the marble break,
"Go ſerve thy country, while God ſpares thee breath;
"Live, as I liv'd, and ſo deſerve my death.

WE ought next to ſay ſomewhat of prince *Rupert*, who commanded the *Engliſh* fleet often, and with great applauſe. To run through his memorable adventures, would take up too much time, and deviate likewiſe from the intention of this treatiſe: we ſhall, therefore, touch briefly thoſe circumſtances of his conduct, which more immediately relate to his capacity as a ſea-officer, and leave his other actions to the care of ſome faithful hiſtorian, who may incline to tranſmit them to poſterity, in the manner they deſerve: for though it cannot be denied, that this prince had his failings, and that theſe might have ſome bad effects on the affairs of king *Charles* I. yet it muſt likewiſe be confeſſed, that he did that monarch great ſervices, and that his errors have been much heightened, by the ſkill, as well as partiality, of ſome who have decried them.

HE was the third ſon of the prince elector *Palatine*, ſometime ſtiled king of *Bohemia*, by the princeſs *Elizabeth*, eldeſt daughter to king *James* I. and was conſequently nephew to king *Charles* I. His education, like that of moſt *German* princes, eſpecially younger brothers, qualified him for arms; and ſuch as have been leaſt inclined to favour him, admit, that he was extremely well fitted, in reſpect both to natural abilities and acquired accompliſhments, for a great commander *. When the unhappy civil wars broke

* The faireſt character I have met with of this gallant prince, is in Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, p. 226, which is tranſcribed by Echard into his hiſtory. The reader may likewiſe conſult Clarendon, Whitlock, and the other hiſtorians of thoſe times.

broke out here, he came and offered his ſword to his uncle, when he was ſcarce of age, and, through the whole war, behaved with great intrepidity; and on many occaſions his endeavours were attended with very extraordinary ſucceſs. When the war was over, he went abroad with a paſs from the parliament: but when the fleet revolted to the prince of *Wales*, he readily went on board it, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by vigorous councils; which, however, were not followed; but on the return of the fleet to *Holland*, the command of it was left to him. He then ſailed to *Ireland*, where he endeavoured to ſupport the king's ſinking cauſe; but was quickly purſued by the parliament's ſuperior fleet, under *Popham* and *Blake*, who, in the winter of the year 1649, blocked him up in the haven of *Kingſale*, whence he eſcaped, by boldly puſhing through their fleet; an action as ſucceſsful in the event, as brave in the intention [x].

AFTER this eſcape, he ſailed to the coaſt of *Spain*, where at firſt he was treated with ſome reſpect; but when it was known, that the parliament had a better fleet at ſea, and were very intent on purſuing and cruſhing his highneſs, the *Spaniards* became afraid of ſhewing him any mark of favour; and therefore, when two or three of his ſhips were diſtreſſed, and ran aſhore, they plundered them, and preſſed the men into their ſervice [y]. This, we need the leſs wonder at, if we conſider that captain *Young* burnt *The Antelope*, one of the prince's ſhips, in the harbour of *Helvoetſluys*, without any reſpect to the authority of the *States*-

[x] Ludlow's memoirs, p. 290, 291. Burchet, Columna roſtrata, Echard, &c. [y] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 595, 596. Where there is a more circumſtantial account of this fact, than is to be met with any where elſe.

States-General, even in their own ports; and this, it is ſaid, inclined them to a war with *England*; for obſerving the temper of the parliament, and the growth of their naval power, it was eaſy for the *Dutch* to foreſee that nothing but a vigorous reſiſtance could defend their trade, or preſerve them from ſubjection. From the coaſt of *Spain*, the prince ſailed to *Liſbon*, and was quickly followed thither by *Blake*, with a ſquadron of eighteen ſail. We have already given ſome account of this expedition, and of his being at laſt forced by *Blake* to leave that port, and betake himſelf again to the *Mediterranean*; and therefore, here I ſhall only obſerve, that it was chiefly the high reſpect paid to prince *Rupert*'s perſon, that enabled him to keep the ſea with his ſquadron, which was now become too ſmall to
1660 be called a fleet. On the 5th of *November*, 1660, general *Blake* deſtroyed *The Roe-Buck*, and *The Black Prince*, two of the beſt ſhips he had remaining, while his highneſs in *The Reformation*, and his brother prince *Maurice* in *The Convertine*, or, as other writers ſay, in *The Swallow*, ſailed into the *Adriatic Sea*, and after taking ſome prizes, returned, after *Blake*'s departure, into the port of *Toulon*, where they diſpoſed of them, paid their ſailors, and provided for a more diſtant expedition [z]. It muſt be obſerved, that though this kind of behaviour in prince *Rupert*, exaſperated the parliament againſt him, and was in reality, as I have elſewhere owned, a very unjuſtifiable practice; yet it was, on the other hand, the ſource of the parliament's power

[z] Philip's chronicle, p. 289, Bate, Warwick, &c. Amongſt other inconveniencies following from this practice, the prince's example was no ſmall one. When he condeſcended to live by privateering, no body was aſhamed to take up the trade, ſo that from Breſt, Guernſey, Jerſey, and the Scilly iſlands, there iſſued whole fleets of corſairs.

power at ſea, which they would otherwiſe have ſcarce thought of maintaining; but finding themſelves, on a ſudden, on bad terms with *Spain*, embroiled with *France*, diſliked by the *Dutch*, and at open war with *Portugal*; they were obliged to cultivate a naval force with their utmoſt care, in which, as they applied themſelves to it with diligence, it muſt be admitted they were very ſucceſsful, and had quickly ſo many ſquadrons well manned at ſea, as made them terrible to all the world [a].

PRINCE *Rupert*'s ſquadron, in the ſpring of the year 1651, ſailed again for the *Streights*, conſiſting then of no more than five men of war, and two fire-ſhips. There he began to take *Spaniſh* ſhips by way of reprifal, for the reſpect they ſhewed the parliament; till finding himſelf hard preſſed by *Penn*, he reſolved, having indeed no reſource beſides, to follow his brother into the *Weſt-Indies*. This project was owing to the lord *Willoughby*'s engaging *Barbadoes*, and the *Leeward-Iſlands* to declare for the king, when all other colonies, except *Virginia*, had ſubmitted to the parliament. This deſign might poſſibly have proved more ſucceſsful, if prince *Rupert*, on his arrival in thoſe parts, had applied himſelf to the preſervation of the *Weſt-India* trade; but inſtead of this, both he, and prince *Maurice* continued to cruize upon the *Spaniards*, till the latter periſhed at ſea, and the former found his ſhips in ſuch a condition, that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to return into *Europe*; which accordingly he did, and in the beginning of 1653, arrived ſafely in *Brittany*, where he diſpoſed

[a] Let the reader compare what I have obſerved, with facts mentioned by Whitlock, Ludlow, and Carrington, in his life of Cromwell, and he will ſee the truth of it immediately.

fed of his prizes, paid his ſeamen as far as it would go, and for the preſent, laid aſide his command as an admiral [b]. His conduct on this occaſion, is very harſhly repreſented by the earl of *Clarendon*, who, as he never lived in any great terms of friendſhip with him, might poſſibly conceive worſe of his proceedings than they deſerved. This is certain, that the noble hiſtorian was greatly miſtaken in what he ſays of the prince's deſerting the king's ſervice, on his going back into *Germany*; for we have undeniable teſtimonies of the contrary, and ſeveral letters of his are yet extant, whereby it appears, that he negotiated with ſeveral princes of the empire, on his majeſty's behalf, and behaved towards him on all occaſions in his exile (after the quarrel at *Paris*) with all the duty, and deference that he could have ſhewn him on the throne [c].

On the king's reſtauration, prince *Rupert* was invited into *England*, where the king created him duke of *Cumberland*, earl of *Holderneſs*, &c. and gave him alſo various offices worthy of his high birth. By this time, his highneſs's fire was pretty much decay'd, and his judgment cooler and fitter for great employments, when, therefore, in the year 1666, the king intruſted him, in conjunction with the duke of *Albemarle*, to command the fleet, he diſcovered all the great qualities that could be deſired in an admiral; for by his happy return to the fleet on the 3d of *June*, he raviſhed from the *Dutch*, the only victory they had

[b] Philip's chronicle, p. 337. Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Bate, Warwick, &c. [c] This is very evident from abundance of letters in Thurloe's ſtate-papers, which repreſent his highneſs as a buſy agent for the king; and particularly from a letter of his to king Charles II. dated Heidelberg, February 6, 1656, vol. i. p. 694.

had the appearance of gaining; and afterwards, on the 24th of *July*, in the ſame year, beat them effectually, purſued them to their own coaſt, blocked up their harbours, and made them ſenſible of the ſuperiority of *Engliſh* courage, when not oppreſſed by numbers [d]. In the autumn of the ſame year, having the ſole command of our fleet, and underſtanding that the *Dutch* were endeavouring to join a *french* ſquadron of forty ſail, under the duke of *Beaufort*, he followed them ſo cloſely into *Bolloign* road, that, to avoid another battle, they hauled in ſo near the ſhore, as in all probability they muſt either have been burnt or ſunk, if a ſudden ſtorm had not forced the prince to return to St. *Helen*'s bay. But in the mean time ſir *Thomas Allen* with his ſquadron, fell in with part of the *French* fleet, and uſed them ſo roughly, that they were glad to betake themſelves to port, and lay aſide all thoughts of joining their allies [e]. On his highneſs's return home, he was kindly received by the king, and grew into great eſteem with the nation. He always ſteered cautiouſly between the factions at court, and having ſo near a relation to the king, never thought of ſtrengthning his intereſt by entering into intrigues. Yet on the other hand, he never declined any occaſion that offered, of ſhewing himſelf a firm proteſtant, and a true patriot, though he knew that this conduct would expoſe him to ſome who were never much inclined to be his friends. But the king, who was obliged to govern too much by parties, was far from diſliking his couſin's conduct, ſince it gave him an opportunity of uſing his councils, and engaging his ſervices, with the general ap-

[d] Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Rapin. [e] Philips's chronicle, p. 552.

approbation of his people; which otherwiſe he could not have done. In other reſpects the prince was very loyal, and would never be perſuaded, even by ſuch as had a great influence over him, to go into any of thoſe meaſures, which, though covered with ſpecious pretences, ſerved only to diſtreſs the king, and to diſtract his ſubjects.

AFTER the breaking out of the laſt *Dutch* war, and the paſſing the teſt-act, his highneſs was again drawn from his retirement, to take upon him the command of the fleet. The duke of *York* had reſigned his office of lord high-admiral; the earl of *Sandwich*, and moſt of the old admirals were dead, ſo that none could with any decency be called to that command but himſelf [r]. He had never lived on any terms with the miniſtry, who were ſtiled the CABAL, and indeed it was impoſſible he ſhould; for they were all perſons of the utmoſt art, and he was one of the plaineſt men that could be. The method, therefore, they took to rid themſelves of a war, which they found it very hard to manage, was, to make ſuch diſpoſitions in the fleet, as were fitteſt to render the admiral uneaſy, from a proſpect that this might bring the advice of making peace from other hands than their own [s]. All the captains in the fleet were the creatures of the duke of *York*, and were told, though perhaps without truth, that glancing at the prince's character, would oblige his royal highneſs. There needed no more to ſet theſe folks to work: they began to find fault with every order

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[r] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 893. Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Rapin. [s] See an exact relation of the engagements and actions of his majeſty's fleet under prince Rupert.

order he gave, and to misrepresent every measure he took, but the prince quickly convinced them, that instead of hurting his character, they would destroy their own [h]. By his brisk getting out to sea in the month of *April*, he shewed that he could be active in age, as well as youth, and by sailing over to the *Dutch* coast, he discovered a readiness to fight, which was the old characteristic of an *English* admiral. We have already given an account of the battle of the 28th of *May* 1672, in which we had the advantage; but it may not be amiss to copy a short paragraph from the prince's own letter, which shews the modesty of his nature, and withal his honour and impartiality, since it relates to the behaviour of one who he knew did not like him. "Sir *Edward Spragge* "also on his side, maintained the fight with so much "courage and resolution, that their whole body gave way "to such a degree, that had it not been for fear of the "shoals, we had driven them into their harbours, and "the king would have had a better account of them. "The case being thus, and the night approaching, I "judged it fit to stand a little off, and to anchor here "where I now ride" [i].

The next engagement happened on the 5th of *June*, in which the advantage was more plainly on the side of the *English*, as is evident from prince *Rupert*'s letter, which was immediately published; but after this engagement, he found the fleet to be so miserably destitute of all necessaries, and, which was worse, so badly manned, that he thought fit to return home. This measure, though

[h] Echard, Burnet, History of the Dutch war. [i] This letter makes a single folio leaf, and is dated at one o'clock in the afternoon, on the 29th of May, 1673.

very neceſſary, might have been liable to ſome miſconſtruction from poſterity, if by accident we were not furniſhed with a true key to it; which was this. The prince had often complained before, and the officers of the navy had conſtantly perſuaded the king, that there were no grounds for his complaints; which put his highneſs under the neceſſity of taking this ſtep, that the thing might be put out of diſpute, and the fleet out of wants. As this ſhewed his ſpirit, (for he brought the king himſelf to look upon the ſhips) ſo he gave afterwards as ſtrong a proof of his judgment, by carrying the whole fleet through the *Narrow*, on the 19th of *July*, and appearing on the *Dutch* coaſt almoſt as ſoon as they had received certain intelligence of his returning to his own [k]. On the 11th of *Auguſt* he fought the laſt battle that was fought againſt this enemy; of which we have already given ſo full an account, that, in reſpect to the fact, we can add nothing here. On his return from his command, the king expreſſed ſome coolneſs, which was owing not more to the arts of his highneſs's enemies, than to the quickneſs of his letter, in relation to the laſt fight, and the behaviour of the *French* [l]; but the king's diſpleaſure quickly wore out, as

[k] The members of the office of ordnance vindicated themſelves notwithſtanding the king's view: but whoever ſhall conſider that vindication attentively, will perceive that it is extremely artificial, and calculated rather to ſcreen themſelves, than to clear up the truth of the fact. [l] The reader may gueſs at the particulars of this letter, from the following paragraph of the exact relation, &c, in which they are ſummed up almoſt in his own words. "In "the midſt of ſo many intrigues of oppoſition here at home, ſo "many delays of his commiſſion, ſo few powers contained in it, "ſuch ſcanty number of ſeamen, ſo little aſſurance of divers "chief commanders, ſuch failure of proviſions, ſuch want of "ammunition and all other neceſſaries, ſuch deceit of navy-offi-"cers,

as the intereſt of the CABAL began to decline. After this, the prince led a quiet and, (in a great meaſure) a retired life, moſtly at *Windſor-caſtle*, of which he was governor, and ſpent a great part of his time in the proſecution of chemical and philoſophical experiments, as well as the practice of mechanic arts, for which he was very famous. He is mentioned by foreign authors with applauſe for his ſkill in painting, and celebrated by one of the moſt judicious of our own for his invention of *Mezzo-tinto* prints, ſince riſen from their ſoftneſs and beauty into ſo high eſteem*. He likewiſe delighted in making locks for fire-arms, and was the inventor of a compoſition called *Prince's metal*. As to his public character in the laſt ten years of his life, it was that of a patriot, which was owing to the innate honeſty of his temper, and not to his having any liking to intrigues. In reſpect ro his private life he was ſo juſt, ſo beneficent, ſo courteous, that his memory remained dear to all that knew him. This I ſay

" cers, ſuch non-obſervance of orders at ſea amongſt his own " Engliſh, and ſo manifeſt defections of the French; not to be " ſtaggered in his reſolution, nor to be put out of all patience and " prudence in action, nor to abate of his affection and zeal for the " honour and ſervice of his majeſty, the ſafeguard and intereſt " of religion and the kingdom; in a ſeaſon when ſo many po- " piſh projectors played a game under board, and above too, " will be an everlaſting argument of his highneſs's valour and re- " nown, and muſt needs be a ſtrong obligation upon the king, " the parliament and people of England, who are now left to " judge, whether it was not a wonderful good providence of " God, or one of the moſt memorable pieces of ſervice ever done " at ſea, to ſurmount all thoſe difficulties, and even envy itſelf; " and after all, to bring home the fleet-royal of England, with- " out the loſs of one man of war, to her own ſhore in ſafety, " in deſpight of all enemies that deſigned otherwiſe by ſea and " land." * Cabinet des ſingularitez d'Architecture, &c. tom. i. p. 177, Evelyn's Calcography, &c.

of my own knowledge, having often heard old people in *Berkſhire* ſpeak in raptures of prince *Robert*. He died at his houſe in *Spring-Gardens*, on the 29th of *November* 1682, in his grand climacteric, leaving behind him a daughter by Mrs. *Margaret Hughes*, who afterwards married general *Howe*, and has not been long dead [m].

Sir *John Lawſon* has been ſo often mentioned in this work, that I find myſelf obliged to give the beſt account of him I can; though I muſt own it to be very ſlender, in ſpight of all the pains I could take to obtain better memoirs. He was the ſon of a perſon in low circumſtances at *Hull*, and was bred to the ſea, either on account of his taking a liking to it, or that it beſt ſuited his father's ſituation, who, perhaps, knew not otherwiſe how to provide for him. In proceſs of time he obtained a ſhip by his merit, and ſerving in the fleet under the parliament, was made a captain for his extraordinary deſert [n]. He ſerved with great fidelity againſt all their enemies, ſo long as the parliament retained their power, and towards the end of the war carried a flag, together with *Penn*, under *Monk*. In 1653, he commanded a fleet of forty-four ſail, which were ſent over to the coaſt of *Holland*, and by taking a ſcarce credible number of prizes, had a great influence in making the peace [o]. On the change of the government, and *Cromwell*'s aſſuming the ſupreme power to himſelf, he was continued in his command, and treated with reſpect; but it ſeems, his principles did not incline him to act ſo ſteadily under the new government, as

[m] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 1023. [n] See Whitlock's Memorials, p. 471, 563, 564. [o] See Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 466. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 591, 526, 606.

as he did under the old [p]. As to church affairs, he was an anabaptiſt; and in reſpect to civil government, he was known to be a republican. In all probability, he received theſe tinctures early, and like many other people, thought purſuing his own prejudices to be perſevering in a good cauſe. He was certainly very honeſt in his conduct during the civil war, acting altogether upon principle, which led him to diſlike the protector's government, though not to reſiſt it; for he thought, that a man might lawfully ſerve his country under any authority: and indeed this was *Blake's* notion, and that of moſt of the ſea officers of thoſe times.

It is very certain, that the protector *Oliver* had early intelligence of *Lawſon's* diſaffection. Colonel *Overton*, who had plotted againſt *Monk* in *Scotland*, had in ſome of his conferences with his friends, mentioned vice-admiral *Lawſon*, as a perſon upon whom they might depend; yet for all this, he was employed and entruſted to command a fleet for the channel-ſervice in 1655 [q]. But the *Spaniſh* war had the ſame effect upon him, that it had upon many other officers; he looked upon it as a flagrant act of injuſtice and tyranny, and began from that moment to enter into ſchemes againſt the protector. True it is, that *Cromwell* had no juſt motive for attacking *Spain*: but the grand reaſon why the republicans reſented this ſo warmly was, becauſe the crown of *Spain* had made greater advances to the parliament, than any other foreign

[p] This appears from ſeveral informations given againſt him to Thurloe, of which notice will be afterwards taken.

[q] This information to Monk is in Thurloe's State-papers, vol. iii. p. 185. where preſident Bradſhaw, ſir Arthur Haſlerig, colonel Pride, colonel Cobbet, colonel Aſhfield, and other officers are named therein.

power [r]. There were at the ſame time a very formidable body of men, who conſpired againſt *Cromwell* on enthuſiaſtic principles, and were ſtiled fifth monarchy-men. With theſe, *Lawſon*, *Okey*, *Rich*, and other officers thought fit to join; becauſe they agreed with them in the main, and were for pulling down the preſent tyranny. Secretary *Thurloe*, however, had ſuch clear information of all their proceedings, that they were able to affect nothing. On the contrary, *April* 10, 1657, major-general *Harriſon*, admiral *Lawſon*, and ſeveral others were committed; which put an end to their intrigues [s].

WHEN he recovered his liberty, he judged proper to retire, and very probably did not imagine he ſhould be employed again; but upon the firſt news of the return of admiral *Montague* with his fleet from the *Baltic*, the parliament reſolved to have it put into the hands of one in whom they could confide; and, therefore, ſent for Mr. *Lawſon*, declared him vice-admiral, gave him the command of a few frigates, and ordered him to take the charge of the whole fleet on its arrival [t]. In his privacy, he had converſed with ſome underſtanding cavaliers, and came to have a true notion of the folly of ſhifting from one

[r] The reader may find this matter largely and clearly explained in a treatiſe entitled, "The world miſtaken in Cromwell," which is re-printed in the firſt volume of State-tracts in the reign of Charles II. [s] Amongſt Thurloe's State-papers, vol. vi. p. 184. there is a very large diſcourſe on this matter, which ſeems to have been a report made to the houſe of commons. This is wrong referred to in the index, where vice-admiral Lawſon is ſaid to be one of the fifth monarchy-men; whereas from that very paper it appears, that he was one of a committee appointed by the diſcontented officers in the army, to confer with theſe fifth monarchy-men; amongſt whom was Venner, who afterwards made a deſperate attempt againſt king Charles II. [t] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 690. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 666.

one form of government to another, and the great crime of ſubverting the conſtitution of one's country, to which an abſolute obedience is due. As ſoon, therefore, as he heard of general *Monk*'s march into *England*, he reſolved to co-operate with him; and knowing that nothing could be done, but by the medium of a parliament, he got the fleet to declare roundly upon that head; for which he received their ſolemn thanks [u]. When *Monk* came to *London*, and many people doubted what courſe he would take, admiral *Lawſon* ſaid to general *Ludlow*, *That ſince the* levite *and the* prieſt *had paſſed by without helping them, he hoped they had now found a* Samaritan *who would* [w]. This *Ludlow* underſtood in his own ſenſe; but it was certainly meant in another. The lieutenant-general himſelf underſtood this afterwards; for he tells us, that when Mr. *William Prynne*, out of his great loyalty to the houſe of *Stuart*, had given the clerk, without order of the houſe of commons, a clauſe for excepting out of the bill of indemnity, ſuch as had taken the oath for abjuring that family, in the council of ſtate; he was ſeverely reprimanded by doctor *Clarges*, brother to general *Monk*, becauſe he foreſaw that this would affect admiral *Lawſon*, to whom the general was previouſly engaged [x]. Indeed, as to the vice-admiral, he came very early, and very heartily into the reſtauration, ſo that when the earl of *Sandwich* acknowledged his ſervices in this reſpect to the king in *Holland*, he was much careſſed, received the honour of knighthood, and was always looked upon as a man ſincerely

[u] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 693. [w] Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 821. [x] Ibid. vol. iii. p. 24.

ly attached to the crown; which was confirmed by all his ſucceeding actions [y].

Immediately after the reſtauration, he was ſent as vice-admiral to the earl of *Sandwich*, when he went to fetch queen *Catherine* from *Portugal*, and was afterwards employed in the *Mediterranean* againſt the *Algerines*, to whom he did conſiderable damage, and ſo effectually blocked up their port, that they were not able to ſend any of their cruizers abroad. More he might, and certainly would, have done, if he had not been diſappointed in his expectation from *de Ruyter*; who, with his *Dutch* ſquadron, was ſent on the ſame errand [z]. Theſe admirals differed about a ſalute, which *de Ruyter* paid *Lawſon*, and *Lawſon* refuſed to return, as being bound up by his inſtructions: after this, there was no harmony between them; the *Dutch* admiral took the firſt opportunity of quitting this ſervice, and ſlipping away to *Guinea*, which was highly reſented by king *Charles*, and alledged as one of the cauſes of the *Dutch* war. That we may not ſuppoſe ſir *John Lawſon*'s refuſing to ſalute *de Ruyter*, proceeded either from pride in him, or from a captious diſpoſition in thoſe who drew his inſtructions, it will be proper to ſet this matter in a true light. The *Dutch*, to prevent their ſaluting *Engliſh* ſhips in their own ſeas, from paſſing for an acknowledgment of our ſovereignty in thoſe ſeas, affected to pay them that reſpect wherever they met with them, that ſo it might appear to be a compliment to an ally, and not a ſubmiſſion to a ſuperior. The court of *England* very well underſtood this, and therefore at his departure

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y See Clarendon, Kennet, Echard, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata; and particularly ſir Philip Warwick in his Memoirs, p. 415.

z Philip's continuation of Heath's chronicle, p. 526, 528.

departure from the earl of *Sandwich's* fleet, ſir *John* had orders not to ſtrike to the ſhips of any prince or ſtate whatever. Soon after this accident, he received inſtructions to return home, and to leave the command of his ſquadron to captain (afterwards ſir *Thomas*) *Allen*, who was appointed to finiſh the war he had begun againſt the *Algerines*[a].

On his arrival in *England*, he found the *Dutch* war broke out, and that the king had ſent for him in order to ſerve under his brother, as rear-admiral of the *red*. Sir *John* was very grateful for this honour; but at the ſame time told his majeſty, that he could ſhew him a more compendious way of bringing the *Dutch* to reaſon, than by fitting out great fleets. He obſerved, that in the laſt *Dutch* war, they were more diſtreſſed by the captures he made after the laſt great battle, than they had been by all the operations of the war; and he added further, that the reaſon of this was not hard to find, *viz.* That they were able, as a ſtate, to fit out great fleets in leſs time, and at much leſs expence, than it was poſſible, or ever would be for his majeſty to do; and their ſubjects willingly contributed to this, becauſe they ſaw the neceſſity, and were ſenſible of the good effects of it. But if numbers of their merchant-ſhips were taken, if their commerce was rendered precarious, and many of their traders became beggars; for this they had no remedy, and that therefore this was their tender part in which they might be hurt, and in which, if they were hurt, they muſt make a peace on ſuch terms, as his majeſty ſhould think fit to preſcribe,

[a] Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. i. p. 712. Philip's Chronicle, p. 528.

ſcribe. This advice was rejected at that time, becauſe his royal highneſs was reſolved to go to ſea, and it was not thought to be conſiſtent with his honour to ſtand on the defenſive, and avoid fighting the *Dutch* fleet. But after ſir *John Lawſon* was dead, and the expence of the war made it burthenſome to the king, he began to reflect on the council he had given him, and reſolved to purſue it. But wanting proper directions in the execution of this ſcheme, and, to ſpeak the truth plainly, having many diſhoneſt ſervants, who pretended to have their ſhips well manned, when they had ſcarce ſailors enough to manage them [b]; (for ſo the thing appeared on a parliamentary enquiry) this deſign, as we have ſeen elſewhere, miſcarried; and yet this miſcarriage remains a ſtain on the memory of ſir *John Lawſon*, in the judgment of ſome writers [c]. But to return from theſe reflections to our hiſtory.

On the 21ſt of *April*, 1655, the duke of *York* ſailed with a grand fleet to the coaſt of *Holland*, himſelf carrying the *red* flag, prince *Rupert* the *white*, and the earl of *Sandwich* the *blue*. His royal highneſs's vice and rear admirals were *Penn* and *Lawſon*, who both performed all that could be expected from them. Towards the latter end of the engagement, which happened off *Leoſtoff*, on the memorable third of *June*, that day twelve years, in which they had been beat by *Monk*; *Lawſon*, after he had exceeded all that he had done before, was, by a muſket-

[b] See the hiſtory and proceedings of the houſe of commons, printed for Chandler, in which there is a reſolution of the houſe of commons, that notwithſtanding his majeſty had 18,000 men in pay, in diſperſed ſhips, 1687, there was not a ſufficient number of ſhips left to ſecure the rivers Medway and Thames.

[c] See Skinner's life of Monk, p. 367.

ket-ſhot in his knee, diſabled from enjoying that victory which he had laboured ſo hard to gain. He did not, however, die till ſome days after, when he had the ſatisfaction of knowing, that his country triumphed, and that, as he had lived, ſo he died with glory. This was the end of ſir *John Lawſon*, a man who owed all things to his merit, and who, after doing ſo many and great ſervices to this nation, wants, for any thing I can learn a tomb. The particulars I have given the reader, are collected from various writers, who all agree in this, that he was an able, brave, honeſt man [d]. Sir *Philip Warwick* ſays, that he was highly loyal [e], and another eminent author, that he was the moſt experienced ſeaman of the age in which he lived, excepting only one of whom we ſhall preſently ſpeak [f].

SIR *John Kempthorne*, was deſcended from a good family in *Devonſhire*, and was born in the pariſh of *Widſcombe*, in that county, in the year 1620. His father being a royaliſt, and in low circumſtances, was glad of an opportunity of binding him apprentice to the captain of a trading veſſel, belonging to *Topſham*, with whom he lived very happily for ſome years, and being a young man of good natural abilities, he attained an extraordinary degree of knowledge, in his profeſſion, by which, and by the favour of his maſter, he grew into great credit with the moſt eminent traders in *Exeter*, in whoſe ſervice he made various

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[d] Echard's hiſtory, p. 827. Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, &c. [e] In his memoirs, p. 415. [f] Author of the hiſtory of the Dutch war, who ſays, "In this battle fell vice-admiral Lawſon, the moſt experienced "ſeaman of the age, if we except ſir George Ayſcue."

various voyages into the *Mediterranean*, with great profit to them, and no ſmall reputation to himſelf[s]. In the beginning of our wars with *Spain*, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf, by a very extraordinary action. He was attacked by a large *Spaniſh* man of war, commanded by a knight of *Malta*; and though the odds was very great, yet captain *Kemptborne* defended himſelf gallantly, till all his ammunition was ſpent; and then remembring that he had ſeveral large bags of pieces of eight on board, he thought they might better ſerve to annoy, than enrich the enemy; and therefore ordered his men to load their guns with ſilver, which did ſuch execution on the *Spaniards* rigging, that if his own ſhip had not been diſabled by an unlucky ſhot, he had in all probability got clear. At laſt, however, over-powered by numbers, he was boarded, taken, and carried into *Malaga*.

The knight to whom he was priſoner, treated him with the utmoſt kindneſs and civility, carried him home to his houſe, gave him the free uſe of it, ſpoke of him with much reſpect, commended his valour to every body, and declared, that he never knew a man who deſerved higher preferment; and after a ſhort ſtay in this manner, which I can ſcarce call a confinement, he ſent him ſafe home to *England*. It is a great misfortune, that one is obliged to relate ſuch a paſſage as this, without the proper circumſtances of names and dates; but when theſe have been ſlighted by ſuch as firſt committed the fact to writing, they are not afterwards eaſily recovered. However, there can be no doubt made as to the truth of the relation, ſince upon the credit of this action, captain *Kemptborne*

[s] Prince's worthies of Devon. p. 437.

thorne laid the foundation of his ſubſequent fortunes. Having premiſed this, we may proceed to the ſecond part of this adventure. Some years after, the ſame knight of *Malta* was taken in the *Streights*, by commodore *Ven*, and brought priſoner into *England*, where he was committed to the *Tower*. This afforded the captain an opportunity of returning all the civilities he had received, and of procuring his liberty, which he did, at his own expence, and furniſhed him with every thing neceſſary to return to *Spain*: An action generous and grateful in itſelf, and which could not fail of doing our *Engliſh* commander great honour[h].

AFTER the reſtauration, captain *Kempthorne* had ſome merit to plead; his father having quitted the profeſſion of the law, to ſerve as a lieutenant of horſe in the king's army, which honeſt and loyal act proved his ruin. Whether this, or any perſonal intereſt which his ſon might have, brought him into the navy, it is not eaſy to ſay; but ſoon after the king's return, he was provided with a ſhip, *viz.* the *Mary Roſe*, a third rate, carrying forty-eight guns, and two hundred and thirty men. In this ſhip he went as convoy to a conſiderable fleet of merchant-men into the *Streights*, and in the month of *December* 1669, met with a ſquadron of ſeven *Algerine* men of war; and yet by his prudence and courage, he preſerved all the veſſels under his care, and obliged the enemy to ſheer off, after leaving behind them ſeveral of their men, who had boarded the *Mary Roſe*, and were brought by captain *Kempthorne* into *England*[i]. This gallant action, juſtly entitled him to a flag

[h] Remarkable ſea-deliverances, p. 22. [i] See the particular relation of this engagement cited before, p. 283.

flag; and yet it was ſome years afterwards out-done, with great ſatisfaction to the captain. For his ſon, a young gentleman of three and twenty, in the *King's Fiſher*, a frigate of forty-ſix guns, and 220 men, engaged ſeven *Algerines*, three of which carried as many guns as the whole ſquadron that his father had to deal with; and after many hours fight, in which he was ſeveral times boarded, made them weary of their undertaking, and carried the king's ſhip ſafe into a *Spaniſh* port, where himſelf died of his wounds[k].

As for our hero, he was in both the *Dutch* wars, and behaved ſo well, that upon the duke of *Albemarle*'s taking the command of the fleet in 1666, he carried one of the flags, and in the ſucceeding war he ſerved as rear-admiral, and had the honour of knighthood[l]. He ſpent the latter part of his life in a poſt both of profit and reputation, *viz.* Commiſſioner of his majeſty's navy at *Portſmouth*: and yet it is ſaid, that he was diſguſted (as is frequently the caſe) at his being thus laid aſide, and precluded, as he underſtood it, from any farther promotion which his merit might have entitled him to in the navy. We have no account of the motives which might induce the court to ſlight a man of ſir *John Kempthorne*'s merit; only we are told, that he was a very zealous proteſtant, and having been chiefly raiſed by the favour of prince *Rupert*, it is probable his intereſt declined with that of his highneſs. However it was, it has been tranſmitted to poſterity, that his ſharp ſenſe of his diſappointments ſhortened his days: and thus a man who had with ſuch courage ventured his life for the honour of the crown, and had done ſuch ſignal

[k] Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 438. [l] Phillip's chronicle, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Echard.

nal ſervice to the nation, was ſacrificed to ſome pitiful court-intrigue, and left to wear away his life in a little employment, which would have been eſteemed a high promotion by a perſon of another temper, and who had leſs paſſion for glory than this worthy gentleman, who ended his days on the 19th of *October* 1679, when he wanted a year of threeſcore. His body lies interred on the north ſide of the altar in the great church at *Portſmouth*, and I have heard that ſome of his poſterity are yet remaining in *Devonſhire*[m]. This ſir *John Kempthorne* had an elder brother, captain *Simon Kempthorne*, who alſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf at ſea, but of whoſe actions I can ſay nothing particular: I ſhall therefore content myſelf with having thus endeavoured to preſerve his name.

THE care taken by the *Dutch* to preſerve the memories of thoſe who have eminently ſerved the ſtate, by burying them at the public expence, erecting for them magnificent tombs, adorning theſe with honourable inſcriptions, ſettling penſions on their family, and by ſuch acts of gratitude, obliging all hiſtorians, as well as putting it into their power to relate whatever concerns ſuch perſons carefully and diſtinctly, can never be enough commended. It is indeed one of the greateſt inſtances of the wiſdom of their government, ſince it ſupports and encourages public ſpirit, maintains the power, and ſecures the reputation of the republic, which are things of the higheſt conſequence to ſociety, and the ſource of that liberty and happineſs by which they are ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed from their neighbours. Happy had it been for us, if a like ſpirit had prevailed here! I ſhould not then have been obliged to apolo-

[m] Prince's Worthies of Devon. p. 439.

gize ſo often for omiſſions, which I find it impoſſible to ſupply; nor would there have been occaſion for this remark, to excuſe the ſhortneſs of thoſe accounts which I am yet to give, of ſome of the greateſt ſeamen who lived in this reign, and who by their gallant behaviour, juſtly merit the praiſe of ſucceeding times.

Sir *George Ayſcue*, as an old officer in the navy, was treated with much reſpect by the parliament, which bound him effectually to their ſervice; ſo that when the fleet revolted to prince *Rupert* in 1648, ſir *George*, who commanded the *Lion*, brought her into the river of *Thames*, and declared for the parliament; which was in itſelf a very important ſervice, and was acknowledged to be ſuch at that time[n]. Upon this teſtimony of his fidelity, the parliament gave him a command in thoſe ſhips which were ſent over to the coaſt of *Holland*, to obſerve the motions of the prince of *Wales*[o]. In *March* 1649, he was conſtituted admiral of the *Iriſh* ſeas, and in that office did great ſervice to the proteſtant intereſt, furniſhed *Dublin* with proviſions, and contributed greatly to the reduction of the whole iſland; which induced the parliament, as a mark of their favour, to make an immediate proviſion for his arrears, and continue him for another year in his command[p].

When the war began to decline in *Ireland*, and the parliament had leiſure to think of recovering places at a greater diſtance, ſir *George Ayſcue* received orders to ſail with a ſmall ſquadron to reduce the iſland of *Barbadoes*; but

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[n] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 317. tion of Baker's chronicle, p. 740. Whitlock's Memorials, p. 279.

[o] Phillips's continuation of Heath's Chronicle, p. 176.

[p] Ibid. p. 381.

but before he was in any readineſs to ſail, his orders were countermanded. The reaſon of this was, the parliament had information, that the *Dutch* were treating with ſir *John Greenville*, in order to have the iſles of *Scilly* put into their hands; and, therefore it was thought neceſſary to reduce theſe iſlands firſt. *Blake* and *Ayſcue* were employed in this expedition, in the ſpring of the year 1651, and performed it with honour and ſucceſs. They had but a ſmall body of troops on board, and ſir *John Greenville* had a conſiderable force in the iſland of St. *Mary*, commanded by ſome of the beſt officers in the late king's army; ſo that if things had been decided by the ſword, the diſpute muſt have been both bloody and doubtful. Sir *John* eaſily perceived that this muſt end fatally, in reſpect to him, and the remains of the king's forces under his command; and therefore entered into a treaty with general *Blake* and admiral *Ayſcue*, who uſed him very honourably, and gave him fair conditions: after which *Blake* returned to *England*, and *Ayſcue* prepared for his voyage to *Barbadoes*[q]. The parliament when they firſt heard of the reduction of *Scilly*, were extremely well pleaſed, as indeed they had reaſon, ſince privateers from thence did ſo much miſchief, that ſcarce any trade could be carried on with tolerable ſecurity. But when the conditions were known, ſome great men changed their opinions, and gave *Blake* to underſtand, that he and his colleague had been too forward, ſo that it was doubtful whether the parliament would ratify the agreement. *Blake* ſaid, that if they had given ſir *John Greenville* good conditions, they

[q] Clarendon's hiſtory, p. 636. Heath's chronicle, p. 306. Bate's hiſtory of the troubles, &c.

had done it with good reaſon; that in the firſt place it ſaved the effuſion of *Engliſh* blood; and next, that there was a ſtrong ſquadron of *Dutch* ſhips at no great diſtance, the commander of which had offered ſir *John* one hundred thouſand pounds to put theſe iſlands into his hands; that if the parliament did not approve of his conduct, he ſhould be ſorry for it, and would take care to prevent a miſtake of that ſort for the future, by laying down his commiſſion, as he was confident ſir *George Ayſcue* would likewiſe do[r]. Upon this there was no more ſaid of the articles, which were honourably complied with, and ſir *George* received orders to ſail immediately to the *Weſt-Indies*; which he obeyed.

He arrived at *Barbadoes* on the 26th of *October* 1651, and became quickly ſenſible of the difficulty of that enterprize. His own force was very inconſiderable in compariſon of that of the iſland; the governor was a man of quality, good ſenſe, and well beloved, and had aſſembled a body of near five thouſand men to oppoſe him[s]. In ſpight of all theſe difficulties he was determined to do his utmoſt to reduce the place, and how well he ſucceeded, the reader may learn from the following ſuccinct relation of general *Ludlow*. "Sir *George* opened a paſſage into "the harbour, by firing ſome great ſhot, and then ſeized "upon twelve of their ſhips without oppoſition. The "next day he ſent a ſummons to the lord *Willoughby*, to ſub-"mit to the authority of the parliament of *England*; but "he not acknowledging any ſuch power, declared his re-"ſolution to keep the iſland for the king's ſervice. But "the

[r] Lanſdown's proſe works, vol. ii. p. 256, 257. [s] Heath's chronicle, p 323. Columna Roſtrata, p. 98. Britiſh empire in America, vol. ii. p. 18.

" the news of the defeat of the *Scots* and their king at " *Worceſter* being brought to ſir *George Ayſcue*, together " with an intercepted letter from the lady *Willoughby* con- " taining the ſame account; he ſummoned him a ſecond " time, and accompanied his ſummons with the lady's " letter, to aſſure him of the truth of that report. But " the lord *Willoughby* relying upon his numbers, and the " fewneſs of thoſe that were ſent to reduce him, being " in all but fifteen ſail, returned an anſwer of the like " ſubſtance with the former. Whereupon ſir *George Ayſ-* " *cue* ſent two hundred men on ſhore, commanded by " captain *Morrice*, to attack a quarter of the enemies that " lay by the harbour, which they executed ſucceſsfully " by taking the fort, and about forty priſoners, with four " pieces of cannon, which they nailed up, and returned " on board again.

" At this time the *Virgina*-fleet arriving at *Barbadoes*, " it was thought fit to ſend a third ſummons to the lord " *Willoughby*; but finding that neither this, nor the de- " claration ſent to them by the commiſſioners of parlia- " ment to the ſame purpoſe, produced any effect, ſir " *George Ayſcue* landed ſeven hundred men from his own " and the *Virginia*-fleet, giving the command of them to " the ſame captain *Morrice*, who fell upon 1300 of the " enemy's foot, and three troops of their horſe, and beat " them from their works, killing many of their men, " and taking about one hundred priſoners, with all their " guns. The loſſes on our ſide was inconſiderable, few " of ours being killed upon the place, and not above " thirty wounded. Yet theſe ſucceſſes were not ſufficient " to accompliſh the work, there being above five thou- " ſand horſe and foot in the iſland, and our *Virginia*-fleet " preparing to depart for want of proviſions.

"In this conjunction, colonel *Muddiford*, who com-
"manded a regiment in the iſland, by the means of a
"friend that he had in our fleet, made his terms, and de-
"clared for the parliament. Many of his friends follow-
"ing his example, did the like, and in conjunction with
"him, encamped under the protection of our fleet. Up-
"on this, the moſt part of the iſland were inclined to
"join us; but the lord *Willoughby* prevented them, by
"placing guards on all the avenues to our camp, and de-
"ſigned to charge our men with his body of horſe,
"wherein he was much ſuperior to them, had not a can-
"non-ball, that was fired at random, beat open the door
"of a room where he and his council of war were ſit-
"ting; which taking off the head of the centinel who
"was placed at the door, ſo alarmed them all, that he
"changed his deſign, and retreated to a place two miles
"diſtant from the harbour. Our party conſiſting of two
"thouſand foot and one hundred horſe advancing towards
"him, he deſired to treat; which being accepted, colo-
"nel *Muddiford*, colonel *Collyton*, Mr. *Searl* and captain
"*Pack*, were appointed commiſſioners by ſir *George Ayſcue*;
"and by the lord *Willoughby*, ſir *Richard Pierce*, Mr.
"*Charles Pym*, colonel *Ellis*, and major *Byham*. By
"theſe it was concluded, that the iſlands of *Nevis*, *Anti-*
"*gua*, and St. *Chriſtopher's*, ſhould be ſurrendered to the
"parliament of *England*: That the lord *Willoughby*, co-
"lonel *Walrond*, and ſome others, ſhould be reſtored to
"their eſtates; and that the inhabitants of the ſaid iſles
"ſhould be maintained in the quiet enjoyment of what
"they poſſeſſed, on condition to do nothing to the pre-
"judice of the commonwealth. This news being brought
"to *Virginia*, they ſubmitted alſo, where one Mr. *George*
"*Ludlow*, a relation of mine, ſerved the parliament in

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" the like manner, as colonel *Muddiford* had done at " *Barbadoes*[t]."

SIR *George Ayscue* returned to *Plymouth* on the 25th of *May* 1652, with great reputation[u]. The *Dutch* war was now very warm, and sir *George* was forced to take a share therein, though his ships were extremely foul with so long a voyage, and in a manner unfit for service. Yet when general *Blake* sailed to the north, he performed incredible things; for in *July* he took five *Dutch* merchant-men, and afterwards attacked a fleet of forty sail, under the convoy of four men of war, took seven, burnt three, and forced the rest " on the *French* shore. On the 16th of *August* 1562, the *Dutch* attempted to surprize sir *George* with a great fleet, who was just then returned from convoying a rich fleet of *East-India* ships into *Plymouth*. Though he was much inferior in strength, he fought notwithstanding; and at last, yet with a considerable loss, he forced them to retire[w]. After this he acted vigorously against the enemy, and though his services were not very well received by the parliament, yet both the seamen and the people agreed that he had acted like a hero, of which we have a strong testimony in *Lilly*'s almanack, which was a kind of oracle in those days[x].

[t] Ludlow's memoirs, &c. vol. p. 387.

[u] In Lilly's astrological predictions for 1653, we have this account of what passed in the preceeding year. " May 25, sir " George Ayscue knight, returned safe from the western islands " to plymouth, to the great joy of the people, having reduced " all the western isles, and taken from the Dutch above forty " sail of ships." Whitlock's memorials, p. 534. Heath's chronicle, &c. [w] Whitlock's memorials, p. 539. 540. 541. [x] This passage occurs in his observations on August 1653, and runs thus. " August 16, 1652, sir George Ayscue near Plymouth with four-

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In ſome ſhort time after this, the parliament thought fit to conſider, Sir *George*'s ſervices, and to vote him a reward of three hundred pounds a year in *Ireland*, and three hundred pounds in money; but withal, they thought proper to lay him aſide, under pretence that the honour of the nation was ſome way affected, by the loſs he had ſuffered in the late fight in *Dover-Road*: but this was a mere pretence; for not only our own hiſtorians, but the *Dutch* writers alſo agree, that never any man behaved better than he did upon that occaſion: and ſo far was the honour of the nation from being at all wounded by any loſs he ſuſtained, that this very action was then, and ſtill is, conſidered as one of the ſtrongeſt proofs of the invincible courage of the *Engliſh* at ſea [y]. Nay, immediately before he was diſmiſſed from his command, he gave a moſt extraordinary proof of his courage; for he proteſted againſt *Blake*'s retreat, after he had been worſted in the battle of the 29th of *November*, and declared, he thought it more honourable to periſh at ſea, than to retire in the ſight of an enemy: and upon this occaſion, he intimated a deſign of throwing up, which gave his enemies an opportunity of taking away his commiſſion [z]. The true grounds of the parliament's diſpleaſure towards him, though they did not care to own it,

" teen or fifteen ſhips only, fought threeſcore ſail of Dutch men " of war, had thirty ſhot in the hull of his own ſhip. Twenty " merchant (I ſuppoſe merchant-men converted into) men of war, " never came in to aſſiſt him; yet, he made the Dutch give way. " Why our ſtate ſhall pay thoſe ſhips that fought not, we, of the " people know not. This is he that is a gentleman, lives like a " gentleman, and acts the part of a generous commander in all his " actions."

[y] Heath's chronicle, p. 323. Columna roſtrata, p. 101. Bate's troubles in England, pt. ii. p. 175. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 260. Le Clerc, de Neuville, &c. [z] Columna roſtrata, p. 101.

it, was the fair agreement he had made with the lord *Willoughby* of *Barbadoes*, and the lageneſs of thoſe articles of capitulation which he had granted him. They thought he might have been ſufficiently cautioned by the reſentment they had ſhewn on the treaty he made with Sir *John Greenville*; and were therefore the more deeply touched with this ſecond offence [a]. Another reaſon for their inclining to lay him down ſoftly, was his great influence over the ſeamen, by whom he was exceedingly beloved. In this tranſaction, they were too wiſe for themſelves; for they parted with a man who was certainly firm to their intereſts; diſobliged the ſea officers, who knew not what to think of ſuch a proceeding; and loſt the affection of the ſailors, as appeared very ſoon after, when general *Cromwell* turned them out of doors, the whole fleet concurring in the approbation of that meaſure; which ſhews how dangerous a thing it is to ſacrifice a man of known merit to ſecret diſtruſts [b].

AFTER this, the admiral led a retired life, without concerning himſelf with public affairs. The grant he had of an eſtate in *Ireland*, induced him to go over thither in 1655, where he had frequent conferences with *Henry Cromwell*, who then governed that kingdom, and who had ſo great an eſteem for him, that he wrote expreſly to ſecretary *Thurloe*, to take his advice about a certain matter of moment, then in agitation, and in any thing elſe which required the opinion of a very knowing and experienced perſon [c]. Yet it doth not appear that he was ever employed in the protector's ſervice; for I find him, in 1656, at his

[a] Heath's chronicle, p. 323. [b] See the poſtſcript to Lilly's almanack, for 1654. [c] This letter is printed amongſt Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. iv. p. 198.

his ſeat in *Surry*, which is thus deſcribed by *Whitlock*. "The houſe ſtands environed with ponds, moats, and wa-"ter, like a ſhip at ſea; a fancy the fitter for the maſter's "humour, who was himſelf ſo great a ſeaman. There, "he ſaid, he had caſt anchor, and intended to ſpend the "reſt of his life in private retirement [d]". He changed his reſolution, however, for which, if I miſtake not, this viſit laid a foundation; ſince *Whitlock* went in company with the *Swediſh* ambaſſador, and Sir *George* was afterwards prevailed upon to quit his retreat, to go over to *Sweden*, where he was to be admiral [e].

THIS ſcheme of ſending him into the north, was one of the laſt formed by the protector *Oliver*. He had always kept a cloſe correſpondence with *Charles Guſtavus* king of *Sweden*, from the time that prince mounted the throne, and drew many advantages from this conjunction. He ſaw, therefore, with great regret, the ſucceſs of the *Dutch* in ſettling the affairs of the north, and their awing his ally, the king of *Sweden*, by keeping a ſtrong fleet in the *Baltick*. He had his reaſons for avoiding a ſecond war with the *Dutch*, and yet he could not think of abandoning the *Swedes* [f]. At laſt, therefore, he took a reſolution of ſending a ſtout ſquadron, well-manned, under the command of Sir *George Ayſcue*, who was to enter into the *Swediſh* ſervice; by which ſtroke of policy, the protector thought he ſhould avoid all diſputes with *Holland*, and yet do as much

[d] Whitlock's memorials, p. 649. where there is a long account of a very curious converſation on maritime affairs, between the ambaſſador and the admiral. [e] Thurloe's ſtate-papers, vol. iv. p. 260. [f] Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 545. where there is a better account of Cromwell's deſigns, than I have found in any of our own hiſtorians

much for the *Swedes* as they could desire [g]. But this squadron sailing too late in the year, the ice prevented its arrival at *Copenhagen*: however, admiral *Ayscue* continued his journey to *Sweden* by land, and was received with great marks of favour by his *Swedish* majesty, with whom he continued to the time of that monarch's death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1660 [h]; so that Sir *George Ayscue* had no manner of concern in the last troubles in *England*.

He returned home soon after the restauration, and was received with all the respect due to a man of his rank and merit. When the *Dutch* war broke out, in 1664, he went to sea as rear-admiral of the *Blue* squadron, and behaved with great honour in the battle of the 3d of *June*, 1665 [i]. On the duke of *York*'s return to court, and the earl of *Sandwich*'s hoisting the royal flag, Sir *George Ayscue* served

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[g] How much the news of this project alarmed the Danes, will appear from the following letter of their minister to secretary Thurloe, dated September 27, 1658, when in prosecution of Oliver's design, Richard had resolved to send Ayscue to Sweden.

May it please your lordship,

"Talk has been this many months, that Sir George Ayscue, "and ten or twelve sea-captains were to take service under the "king of Sweden, which I could not be induced to believe, "thinking the said Ayscue would not turn a mercenary soldier of "another prince, whilst the war in his own country lasted; if he "could not be satisfied with that wealth and honour he has got-"ten and live a retired and quiet life. But I have been deceived "in my opinion, and find, that certainly he and the said captains "are to depart in a few days; they to command each a man of "war, and Sir George the whole Swedish fleet." Thurloe's state-papers, vol. vii. p. 412.

[h] Histoire de Suede, par pufendorf, tom. iii. p. 30. Whitlock's memorials, p. 677, 698. Burchet's naval history, p. 397. [i] Echard's history of England, p. 820.

ſerved as vice-admiral of the *Red*, and was very fortunate in making prizes [k]. In 1666, when prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle* commanded, Sir *George Ayſcue*, in *The Royal Prince*, the largeſt and heavieſt ſhip in the fleet, bore the *White* flag, as admiral of that ſquadron, having Sir *William Berkley*, for his vice-admiral, and Sir *John Harman* for his rear-admiral. In the famous battle on the firſt of *June*, he did remarkable ſervice, not only againſt the enemy, but in the preſervation of ſuch of the *Engliſh* ſhips as were diſabled by their ſuperior force. With the ſame ſucceſsful diligence he acted the two next days; but towards the evening of the third, when prince *Rupert* appeared with the frigates under his command, and a ſignal was made for the fleet to join, Sir *George Ayſcue*'s ſhip unfortunately ran upon *The Galloper*, and could not be got off. There, beaten by the waves, ſurrounded by his enemies, and unaſſiſted by his friends, he was, as the *Dutch* writers themſelves confeſs, compelled by his own ſeamen to ſtrike; upon which, the *Dutch* took them on board, and finding it impoſſible to bring off *The Royal Prince*, ſet her on fire [l]. This capture of Sir *George Ayſcue*, gave the enemy great ſatisfaction: they carried him from place to place, by way of triumph, and at laſt ſhut him up in the caſtle of *Louveſtein*, where he continued for ſome months [m]. After his return, he went no more to ſea, but ſpent the remainder of his days in quiet.

SIR

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[k] Burchet, p. 398. Columna roſtrata, p. 166. Lediard. [l] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 830. Burchet, p. 399, gives an account of this battle; but takes no notice of the loſs of The Royal Prince. Columna roſtrata, p. 172. [m] Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville. Baſnage annales des provinces unies, vol. i. p. 776.

SIR *Edward Spragge* was a gentleman of great abilities in the cabinet, as well as at ſea, and as much diſtinguiſhed by his prudence in adviſing, as by his activity in executing, in which he was ſecond to none. We find him a captain, in the firſt engagement with the *Dutch*, after the reſtauration, on the 3d of *June* 1665, wherein he behaved with great reputation, and ſo far recommended himſelf to the favour of the duke of *York*, that upon his majeſty's viſiting the navy, and going on board *The Royal Charles*, he received the honour of knighthood [n]; which encouraged him to expoſe himſelf ſtill more freely. He was likewiſe in the four days battle in *June* 1666, where he was particularly taken notice of by the duke of *Albemarle*, and in the ſucceeding battle, which was fought on the 24th of *July*, he carried a flag under Sir *Jeremiah Smith*, admiral of the *Blue* ſquadron, who engaged *Tromp*, ſhattered his vice-admiral, ſo that ſhe was abſolutely diſabled; and having ruined the rigging of his rear-admiral, and killed its commander, contributed greatly to the glory of that day [o]. He diſtinguiſhed himſelf likewiſe, in the cloſe of that war, in the unlucky buſineſs at *Chatham*, where he was employed to defend the fort of *Sheerneſs*, attacked by the enemy on the 10th of *June* 1667, and tho' it was unfiniſhed, his garriſon very ſmall, and the place in no ſtate of defence; yet he continued to defend himſelf, till it would have been an act of raſhneſs to expoſe his garriſon any longer. When he found how impracticable it was to do any effectual ſervice by land, he ſet himſelf to collect as great a force as he could by ſea. This amounted to no more than five frigates,

[n] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 831. [o] Columna Roſtrata, p. 179.

gates, ſeventeen fire-ſhips, and ſome tenders; and yet when the *Dutch* admiral *Van Nes* came up the river again, after their attempt upon *Harwich*, Sir *Edward Spragge* engaged him about the *Hope*. The fight was very unequal; but there being at firſt little or no wind, Sir *Edward* laid hold of that advantage, and by dexterouſly towing his ſhips, burnt eleven or twelve of their fire-ſhips, with ſix of his own; but the wind ſtiffning, he was at laſt obliged to ſhelter himſelf from the enemy's unequal force, under the cannon of *Tilbury-Fort*. The next day the weather being favourable, he attacked the *Dutch* again in his turn, and by the happy management of his fire-ſhips, put them into ſuch confuſion, that after a ſhort diſpute, they were forced to retire, and to burn their laſt fire-ſhip to prevent her being taken. On the 25th they proſecuted their retreat; but with Sir *Edward Spragge*'s ſquadron of fire-ſhips in their rear. He followed them to the river's mouth, where they met another ſquadron of fire-ſhips from *Harwich*, which put them in ſuch danger, that above a hundred men in *The vice-admiral* of *Zealand*, and another large man of war, leaped over-board, and were drowned. This was the laſt action on our ſide in that war [p].

In 1669, the conſtable of *Caſtile* being appointed governor of the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, Sir *Edward Spragge* was ſent over to compliment him upon that occaſion, and to enter into ſome further negotiations for the ſucceſs of the new meaſures, in which Sir *Edward* is ſaid to have been deeply engaged [q]. The truth is, he was raiſed by the favour, and ſupported by the friendſhip of the duke of *York*,

[p] Philip's chronicle, p. 561. Burchet, Echard, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, Le Clerc, de Neuville. [q] Echard's hiſtory of England, p. 857. Rapin, Oldmixon's hiſtory of the Stuart's

York, ſo that he devoted himſelf wholly to his ſervice, and was thought to have a large ſhare in his confidence. Some have reported, that he was a papiſt; of which, there is little probability, ſince we find him ſent to ſea with prince *Rupert*, in 1673, when the *Teſt* had driven the duke of *York*, and others of his religion, from their poſts [r]. This advancement of *Spragge*, I mention here, only to obviate the objection to him on the ſcore of religion; for before I ſpeak of his behaviour in the laſt *Dutch* war, I muſt take notice of his employment in the *Mediterranean*, after his return from his negotiation in *Flanders*.

THERE had been ſquadrons ſent to chaſtize the *Algerines*, both by the *Engliſh* and *Dutch*; but very few of them had been able to effect any great matter. They, generally ſpeaking, contented themſelves with ſome ſlight action, to the prejudice of theſe *Corſairs*, and then concluded a peace, which was uſually broken by that time they with their ſquadrons were returned home [s]. The conſideration of this, together with the loud complaints of the merchants, induced the court to fix upon Sir *Edward Spragge* to command a ſquadron in thoſe ſeas, in hopes of his meeting with better ſucceſs than his predeceſſors, from his known courage and reſolution; for it is confeſſed by the writers of thoſe times, that Sir *Edward* greatly reſembled the earl of *Sandwich*, and concealed, like him, a high and daring ſpirit, under the moſt poliſhed behaviour. He ſailed from *England* on this expedition in the ſpring of the year

[r] Hiſtory of the Dutch war, p. 45. An exact relation of the actions of his majeſty's fleet, under prince Rupert, &c. p. 5. Secret hiſtory of the Reigns of king Charles II. and king James II.

[s] Kennet, Burchet, Columna Roſtrata, Baſnage, le Clerc, de Neuville, vie de Ruyter, &c.

year 1671, with five frigates and three fire-ſhips, and there might be as many more ſhips in thoſe ſeas; ſo that in all, his fleet conſiſted of about twelve ſail. In the latter end of the month of *April*, he had intelligence that there were ſeveral *Algerine* men of war in *Bugia* bay; on which he called a council of war, when it was reſolved, that he ought immediately to attack them. In purſuance of this reſolution he ſailed thither, but in his paſſage, had the misfortune to have *The Eagle* fire-ſhip diſabled by a ſtorm; and ſoon after one of his ſhips ſpringing her main-maſt, was obliged to bear away for the chriſtian ſhore. Sir *Edward*, however, perſiſted in his deſign, refitted *The Eagle*, and bore into the bay of *Bugia* with a briſk gale, not doubting that he ſhould be able to fire the ſhips: but by that time they got within half ſhot of the caſtle and forts, it fell a dead calm; and when the wind roſe again, it proved contrary. On the 2d of *May*, they were able to do nothing for the ſame reaſon, the wind changing every half hour; upon which, Sir *Edward* reſolved to make an attempt upon them in the night with his boats, and the ſmalleſt of his fire-ſhips, which rowed as well as a long-boat. About twelve o'clock that night he executed his project, ſending in all his boats and *The Eagle* fire-ſhip, under the command of his eldeſt lieutenant Mr. *Nugent*. But the night proving very dark, and the high land obſcuring the ſhips as they drew near them, they paſſed by, and lieutenant *Nugent* leaving one of the boats with the fire-ſhips, beſides her own, rowed in to diſcover the enemy, leaving orders with the captain of the fire-ſhip, to come to an anchor in caſe he found ſhoal-water. The lieutenant had not left him a minute before he perceived himſelf within piſtol-ſhot of the ſhips, and concluding the buſineſs now as good as done, ſteered off again to find the fire-ſhip, and

to

to his amazement ſaw her all in flames. The enemy taking the alarm at this, the lieutenant was forced to row off with his boats; and ſo this fair opportunity was loſt of burning the *Algerine* men of war without the loſs of a man. The next day the enemy unrigged all their ſhips, and made a ſtrong boom with their yards, top-maſts, and cables buoyed up with caſks, for which they had all the opportunity in the world, the wind hindering the *Engliſh* from doing any thing; and to try the admiral's patience to the utmoſt, it ſo fell out, that by a drunken gunner's firing a piſtol, his other little fire-ſhip was loſt; ſo that he had none now left but the *Little Victory*, which drew too much water, to enter that part of the bay where the *Algerines* lay.

On *Monday* the 8th of *May* 1671, there appeared a conſiderable body of horſe and foot in the neighbourhood of the bay, which were ſoon after diſcovered to be an eſcort to a very large convoy of ammunition ſent from *Algiers* to the ſhips, on the ſafe arrival of which they fired all their cannon, to teſtify their joy. Sir *Edward Spragge* conſidering this, and not knowing what future reinforcements they might receive, reſolved to take the firſt opportunity of making his utmoſt effort; and in order thereto, directed the *Victory* to be lightned, ſo that ſhe might not draw above eight foot. About noon, there ſprung up a fine breeze to the eaſt, upon which the admiral gave the ſignal for the men of war to draw into a line, and bear up in the bay. Immediately after this, the wind ſunk at once, ſo that they deſpaired of doing any thing. But about two, the gale ſprung up again, and the ſhips bore in as they were directed. The admiral came to an anchor in four fathom water, cloſe under their caſtle walls, which fired

upon him continually for two hours. In this ſpace he ſent in his own pinnance, and thoſe of the *Mary* and the *Dragon*. Theſe cut the boom, though not without conſiderable loſs. Lieutenant *Pin*, who commanded the *Mary*'s boat's crew, had eight wounded with himſelf; lieutenant *Pierce* of the *Dragon* was alſo wounded, with ten of his men, and one killed. In the admiral's own pinnace there were ſeven killed, and all the reſt wounded, except Mr. *Harman* who commanded it. The boom being cut, the fire-ſhip went in, and getting up athwart their boltſprits, their ſhips being a-ground, and faſt to the caſtles, ſhe burnt very well, and deſtroyed them all. Captain *Harris* who commanded her, his maſter's mate, gunner, and one of his ſeamen were deſperately wounded with ſmall ſhot, and this at their entrance; ſo that probably the whole deſign had proved abortive, if the admiral had not with great prudence commiſſioned *Henry Williams*, (then one of his maſter's mates, but who had formerly commanded the *Roſe* fire-ſhip) to take the charge of the veſſel, in caſe the other was diſabled; which he did accordingly, and performed all that could be expected from him. This loſs was irreparable to the *Algerines*, who had picked out the ſeven men of war here burnt, on purpoſe to fight ſir *Edward Sprague*, had furniſhed them with their beſt braſs ordnance from on board all the reſt of their veſſels, with 18 or 1,900 choſen men double officered, under the command of old *Turkey* their admiral, of whom, between three and four hundred were loſt, the caſtles and town miſerably torn, and a vaſt number of people in them killed and wounded; and which much increaſed their miſery, all their ſurgeons cheſts were burnt on board their ſhips, ſo that numbers died for want of having their wounds dreſſed. Beſides the men of war (of

which

which we ſhall give a liſt) there were burnt a *Genoeſe* ſhip, a ſmall *Engliſh* prize, and a ſettee.

An exact LIST of the *Algier* ſhips burnt in *Bugia*, with their number of guns and age. *May* 8, 1671.

Ships Names.	Commanders.	Guns.	Years old.
The White Horſe.	*Tabark Rays.*	34	4
The Orange Tree.	*Courbaly.*	34	4
The Three Cypreſs Trees.	*Caram Hammet.*	34	½
The Three Half Moons.	*Brayham Tagrin.*	28	2
The Pearl.	*Brayham Turco.*	26	8
The Golden Crown.	*Halua Tagrin.*	24	½
The Half Moon.	*Hammett.*	24	½

In this engagement ſir *Edward Spragge* had only ſeventeen killed, and forty-one wounded; which makes the victory ſtill more extraordinary, and is a very full proof how neceſſary a ſteady and conſtant, as well as briſk and active courage is in an officer, who bears ſupreme command at ſea [t]. What the conſequences were of this action, and how well ſir *Edward* by his wiſdom improved the advantage that had been gained by his arms, we have already ſhewn [u], and ſhall therefore not repeat it here, but proceed

[t] I take this account of ſir Edward Spragge's expedition firſt from his inſtructions publiſhed in the memoirs of Engliſh affairs chiefly naval, p. 200, which inſtructions are dated at Richmond, the 14th of June 1670, and ſeveral other papers in the ſame book. Secondly, from ſir Edward's own letter, dated May 11, 1671, and publiſhed by authority, under the title of, "A true and perfect "relation of the happy ſucceſs and victory, obtained againſt the "Turks of Argier at Bugia, by his majeſty's fleet in the Medi-"terranean, under the command of ſir Edward Spragge, &c. "Printed in the Savoy, by Thomas Newcomb, 1671." [u] See p. 283, 284.

ceed to his conduct in the laſt *Dutch* war, in which he remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

AFTER having performed with honour the buſineſs for which he was ſent into the *Mediterranean*, he returned in the beginning of the year 1672, with the ſquadron under his command. The *Dutch* war was then meditated by our court; but had not as yet broke out. Sir *Robert Holmes*, who had been the principal inſtrument in bringing on the firſt *Dutch* war, had been employed alſo to begin this, by attacking the *Smyrna* fleet, which was then expected home. On the 12th of *January* ſir *Edward Spragge* met with ſir *Robert Holmes*'s ſquadron near the *Iſle of Wight*, and upon ſir *Robert*'s enquiring news, ſir *Edward* very frankly told him, that he had ſailed ſeveral days with the *Dutch Smyrna* fleet, that in a day or two's time they might be certainly expected. Sir *Robert Holmes* was very well pleaſed with this news, but took great care to ſay nothing, that might give him the leaſt intimation of his having any orders to attack them, though if he had ſo done, and required ſir *Edward*'s aſſiſtance, he could not poſſibly have failed of taking or deſtroying that whole fleet, reckoned worth a million and half; and on the taking of which the king depended, for a ſupply towards carrying on the war. But ſir *Robert*, averſe to ſharing any part of the reputation that might be acquired by this action, uſed his utmoſt diligence that no body ſhould have any part in the execution of it but himſelf; in which, however, he had no ſucceſs; and as this blaſted his reputation with the world, ſo it produced a quarrel between him and ſir *Edward Spragge*, which could never afterwards be compoſed [w].

WHEN

[w] Burnet's hiſtory of his own times, vol. ii. p. 555. of the Dutch edition. True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert. Hiſtory of the Dutch war.

WHEN his royal highneſs the duke of *York* had reſolved to take upon him the command of the *Engliſh* navy in the ſame year, ſir *Edward Spragge* was chiefly depended on for aſſembling the fleet, and preparing all things for the reception of his highneſs, as I find by an order directed to him, as commander in chief of his majeſty's fleet, on *June* 15, 1672[x]; and he performed his part ſo well, that by the end of the month all things were ready, and his highneſs was invited on board, who joined him ſoon after, together with the earl of *Sandwich*, and other perſons of diſtinction. He was preſent in *Solbay* fight, the 28th of *May*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf therein, by ſinking a *Dutch* ſhip of ſixty guns. During the reſt of that campaign, he behaved with his accuſtomed diligence, and returned with great reputation after it was over; which very probably determined the court to employ him (as they did) the next year.

WHEN the duke of *York* was obliged to part with his command, and the court, to gratify the deſire of the nation, lay under a neceſſity of making uſe of prince *Rupert*, they took care to ſecure the fleet notwithſtanding, by employing ſuch officers as they could beſt, and his highneſs leaſt, truſt. Sir *Edward Spragge* was to carry the *blue* flag inſtead of ſir *Robert Holmes*, whom his highneſs propoſed; and, becauſe there had been a difference between theſe two admirals, the court thought fit to lay *Holmes* entirely aſide, though he was a very active man, and had been much in their confidence[y]. Before the fleet put to ſea, ſir *Edward* was ſent with the character of en-

[x] Memoirs of the royal navy, p. 246. [y] True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, &c. p. 5,

voy extraordinary to *France*, where he was received with all poſſible reſpect, was exceedingly careſſed during his ſtay, and at his taking leave had a preſent made him of great value. His buſineſs was to renew the treaty with that court, to ſettle the rules that were to be obſerved on the junction of the *French* and *Engliſh* fleets, and to reſtore the old friendſhip between the courts, which ſeemed to be ſomewhat injured by the late proceedings in *England* [z]. As no part of ſir *Edward Sprague*'s negotiation, or inſtructions was ever communicated to prince *Rupert*, it gave him freſh grounds of diſlike; ſo that when ſir *Edward* came to hoiſt his flag, there was a great coldneſs between them [a]. This did not hinder our admiral's doing his duty very gallantly in the engagement, which happened on the 28th of *May*, wherein he fought *Tromp* ſeven hours, forced him to go from the *Golden Lion* into the *Prince on Horſeback*, and thence into the *Amſterdam*, from that into the *Comet*, where he had certainly either been killed or taken, if he had not been relieved by *de Ruyter* [b]. Sir *Edward* alſo twice changed his ſhip. Theſe circumſtances are not taken notice of in the account which was publiſhed after ſir *Edward*'s death; but in prince *Rupert*'s letter to the earl of *Arlington*, the matter (notwithſtanding the quarrel betwixt them) is very fairly ſtated. "Sir *Edward Sprague*, ſays his highneſs, did on his "ſide maintain the fight with ſo much courage and reſolu- "tion, that their whole body gave way to ſuch a degree, "that had it not been for fear of the ſhoals, we had driven "them

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[z] Kennet, Echard, Columna Roſtrata, Oldmixon, Rapin.
[a] True account of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, p. 9. [b] Baſnage Annales des provinces unies, vol. ii. p. 411. Vie de Ruyter, p. 565.

" them into their harbours, and the king would have had " a better account of them [e]." In the battle of the 4th of *June*, ſir *Edward* is blamed for coming, juſt before the engagement began, ſix miles in his boat to receive his highneſs's orders [d]: however, after he returned, he behaved with great reſolution, forced *Van Tromp*, with whom he was again to contend, twice to change his ſhip, and would inevitably have either taken or deſtroyed him, if he had not been relieved by the admiral. The hazard that he ran, provoked him ſo againſt vice-admiral *Sweers*, that he accuſed him to the *States-General*. Prince *Rupert*, in his letter, takes no notice of ſir *Edward Spragge*'s behaviour at all, and though it is very certain, that he had the advantage of *Tromp* in this action; yet even that is concealed by an author, who pretends to more than ordinary knowledge of all that paſſed. The *Dutch* writers confeſs his bravery, and own he puſhed them hard; and *Tromp* in his letter to the *States*, ſay, that he was forced to retreat a little before it was dark [e].

In the third battle, which happened on the 11th of *Auguſt*, ſir *Edward Spragge*, with the *blue* ſquadron, was in the rear, where it is ſaid, that notwithſtanding he had promiſed prince *Rupert* not to part from his ſide, yet being provok'd by *Tromp*, he laid his fore-top ſail to the maſt to ſtay for him; and having engaged his ſquadron, continued fighting for many hours, at a diſtance from the fleet. Sir

[c] See that letter printed by authority, and dated from on board the Royal Charles, off the oyſter bank, May 29, 1673. [d] True account of the actions of the fleet, under prince Rupert, p. 10, 11. [e] The writer abovementioned is the author of the relation ſo often cited, who had himſelf a command in the fleet. Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 415. Le Clerc, tom. ii. p. 241. Vie de Ruyter, p. 498.

Edward was at firſt on board the *Royal Prince*, and *Tromp* in the *Golden Lyon*; but after a diſpute of about three hours, in which the *Dutch* admiral avoided coming to a cloſe fight, ſir *Edward*'s ſhip was ſo diſabled, that he was forced to go on board the St. *George*, as *Tromp* did on board the *Comet*. Then the fight began again with greater fury than before. At laſt, the St. *George* was ſo battered, that ſir *Edward* thought fit to leave her, and to endeavour to go on board the *Royal Charles*; but before his boat had rowed ten times its own length from the St. *George*, it was pierced by a cannon-ſhot; upon which, the crew endeavoured to get back again; but, before that could be effected, ſir *Edward* was drowned; his hands taking ſo dead a hold on the ſide of the boat, that when it came to float, he was found with his head and ſhoulders above water [f].

THIS end had the brave ſir *Edward Spragge*, who thereby made good what he promiſed the king, when he took leave of him, that he would bring him *Van Tromp* alive or dead, or loſe his own life in the attempt [g]. Theſe admirals, indeed, ſeem to have had a particular deſire, each to overcome the other; for they had conſtantly fought in every battle from the time that ſir *Edward Spragge* ſucceeded the earl of *Sandwich*, and *Van Tromp* came again to command the *Dutch* fleet in the room of *Van Ghent*. The *Dutch* writers ſpeak of his death with viſible regret, and own, that he was one of the braveſt men, and beſt commanders that ever fought at ſea. Our own

[f] An exact relation of the actions of the fleet under prince Rupert, &c. p. 14—21. Baſnage Annales des Provinces Unies, vol. ii. p. 420. De Neuville, vol. iv. p. 204. Vie de Ruyter, p. 574.
[g] Echard's Hiſtory of England, p. 894.

own writers are profuſe in the praiſes they beſtow on his valour, and therefore I ſhall content myſelf with citing only one teſtimony in his favour; which ſhall be that of biſhop *Parker*, who deſcribes the laſt ſcene of his life thus. "There was a remarkable fight between *Spragge* "and *Tromp*; for theſe having mutually agreed to at- "tack each other, not out of hatred, but a thirſt of "glory; they engaged with all the rage, or as it were, "with all the ſport of war. They came ſo cloſe to one "another, that like an army of foot, they fought at "once with their guns and ſwords. Almoſt at every "turn, both their ſhips, though not ſunk, were yet bored "through, their cannon being diſcharged within com- "mon gun-ſhot: neither did our ball fall in vain into "the ſea; but each ſhip pierced the other, as if they had "fought with ſpears. But at length, three or four ſhips "being ſhattered, as *Spragge* was paſſing in a long-boat "from one ſhip to another, the boat was over-turned by "a chance ſhot, and that great man not being ſkilled in "ſwimming, was drowned, to the great grief of his ge- "nerous enemy, who, after the death of *Spragge*, could "hardly hope to find an enemy equal to himſelf. But "thus it happened, that when that brave man had over- "come ſo many dangers, his country being now victori- "ous and ſafe, no honour remained for him to receive, "but the reward of a glorious death [h]."

THESE were the great men who carried the glory of the *Engliſh* arms ſo high, and who effectually ſupported the

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[h] Biſhop Parker's hiſtory of his own times, p. 157. The ſame prelate in another part of his hiſtory, tells us, that ſir Edward Spragge was a perſon, the love and delight of all men, as well for his noble courage, as the gentle ſweetneſs of his temper, p. 126.

the honour of the flag. If the reader miſſes the memoirs of ſome whoſe actions are mentioned in our hiſtory, it is, becauſe they belong to another place, in conſequence of their having ſurvived this reign, and that unfortunate one which ſucceeded it. But, theſe are the heroes to whom were owing our principal victories, which raiſed our reputation ſo high, extended our commerce ſo far, and might have brought us much greater advantages, if our domeſtic diviſions had not in ſome meaſure fruſtrated their labours, and defeated our expectations from thoſe naval ſucceſſes, which all hazarded, and many laid down their lives to purchaſe. A memorable misfortune this, and which we ought never to forget, if we deſire to avoid feeling the effects of ſo wretched a conduct, with a ſhort explication of which, as a neceſſary comment on what has been already ſaid, we ſhall conclude this chapter.

THE two *Dutch* wars were very diſagreeable to a great part of the nation, through an apprehenſion of their conſequences, and therefore the great exploits performed by our ſeamen, and the advantages gained by the laſt peace, which has ſecured us from any ſubſequent quarrels with that nation, were not looked upon in the light they deſerved; but ſuch as did their duty, and acted vigorouſly in their ſtations, were diſliked, and treated as the ſervile creatures of a court, ready to attempt any thing for which they received orders. This was certainly very injurious uſage, and ſuch as muſt have contributed to ſink the ſpirits of many. The true merit of a ſoldier, or ſeaman, certainly conſiſts in executing vigorouſly the order he receives; and things are carried too far when we pretend to make them accountable for thoſe orders; becauſe, if this maxim ſhould be once eſtabliſhed, ſuch conſe-

quences

quences muſt inevitably flow from it, as would be far more detrimental to ſociety, than the affording a certain meaſure of applauſe, to ſuch gallant actions as might be performed upon wrong principles. Of this, I might give a flagrant inſtance, by referring to a certain hiſtory, where ſir *Robert Holmes* is ſeverely cenſured for doing what a council of war directed; and ſome perſons, who had been attainted by parliament, are juſtified, and commended for aſſiſting the *Dutch* to invade this nation, and to deſtroy our ſhips at *Chatham*; which is a doctrine of a very dangerous nature, and directly contrary to that true public ſpirit, which ought to influence all men, and all parties; to bear whatever may be required of them for their country's good, and to forbear avenging themſelves upon her, whatever provocations they may receive.

AFTER having pointed out this error on one ſide, I ſhall with equal freedom, lay open a greater on the other: I mean the court's too great regard for *France*, which was highly detrimental to the trade of theſe nations, and had well nigh been the deſtruction of our navy. It is a monſtrous thing to aſſert, and yet there are too ſtrong proofs of this truth for us to avoid ſaying, that the adminiſtration in the latter part of king *Charles*'s reign, from the time his notions had a wrong turn given them by the CABAL, favoured too much the *French* ſchemes, for the advancement of their commerce to the prejudice of ours; in doing which, they iſſued ſuch orders to the officers of the navy, as made them juſtly obnoxious to parliament, though very able men in their places, and thereby created ſuch an alteration in the management of things, as added the ruin of our ſhipping, to the hurt done our trade: whereas, if the court had acted honeſtly, and the nation been of one mind, we might certainly

tainly have given law to *Europe*, and become the greateſt maritime power the world ever ſaw.

We loſt theſe advantages then, and the ſenſe of this ought to be of ſervice to us now. The fleet, at the death of king *Charles* II. was recovering indeed, but very ſlowly. It is time to ſee how a prince, who took care of nothing elſe, proſecuted that work with diligence, and raiſed our navy to a better ſtate than it was ever in before.

CHAP. V.

The naval hiſtory of GREAT-BRITAIN, *during the reign of king* James II. *containing an account of the methods made uſe of for reſtoring and improving the fleet; their ſucceſs, and the king's diſappointment in his endeavours to prevent an invaſion from* Holland.

1685 FEW princes have ſtruggled with greater difficulties before they aſcended their thrones, than king *James* II. and few, ever ſuſtained a greater load of trouble afterwards. He ſucceeded his brother the 6th of *February*, 1685, with the general acclamations of his ſubjects, who expected great things from a king, who came to the throne with ſuch advantages. He was then turned of fifty-one, had good natural parts, improved and ſtrengthned both by education and experience; inclined to, and very diligent in buſineſs;

fineſs; a good œconomiſt: in fine, a prince, who, if he had managed public affairs with the ſame eaſe and dexterity, which he ſhewed in the conduct of his private concerns, his reign muſt have been as happy and glorious, as it proved troubleſome and unfortunate.

IT was his great foible, that he was conſtantly influenced by foreign councils, which is a thing the *Engliſh* nation cannot endure; and indeed, it is impoſſible they ſhould; for as our conſtitution differs from the conſtitution of all the ſtates upon the continent, it is ſimply impracticable to govern us well, by any other ſyſtem of politics than our own. King *James* knew this well enough; and yet his fondneſs for the popiſh religion, threw him into the arms of *France*, and engaged him, while a ſubject, to act as a tool; when a king, to rule as a vice-roy to *Lewis* XIV. and this at a juncture, when if he had been of the religion of his fathers, and had complied with the deſires of his people, he might have given law to that haughty monarch, and been eſteemed the deliverer of *Europe*. His bigottry blinded him; ſome of his miniſters abuſed his confidence; till by a ſeries of bad management, he made his affairs deſperate, and loſt the affections of his people, which ſoon loſt him all.

YET, as wrong as his conduct was in almoſt every other particular, the care he took of naval affairs, deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity with juſt applauſe. He had long experienced the office of lord high-admiral, in the reign of his brother, and underſtood it thoroughly; he knew too the diſorders which had crept into the whole œconomy of the fleet, in the ſix years immediately preceeding his acceſſion; and he was well acquainted beſides, with the difficulties the late king had found, in diſcovering and apply-

applying remedies to theſe miſchiefs. As ſoon, therefore, as he was ſeated on the throne, he began to conſider how a total reformation might be wrought, and the affairs of the navy be not only ſet right for the preſent, but alſo be put into ſuch a ſettled courſe, as that they might not ſuddenly go wrong again. With this view he conſulted Mr. *Pepys*, and ſome other conſiderable perſons, on whoſe abilities and integrity he could depend; and having learned from them what was neceſſary to be done to bring about the ends at which he aimed, he firſt aſſigned a ſtated fund of four hundred thouſand pounds a year, payable quarterly out of the treaſury for the ſervice of the navy, and then iſſued a ſpecial commiſſion for ſettling all things relating to it, and for putting the management thereof into ſuch a method, as might need few or no alterations in ſucceeding times.

THIS commiſſion was the wiſeſt act of his whole reign, and anſwered very effectually all that was, or indeed could be expected from it. It was grounded, as to form, on a commiſſion which had iſſued for the ſame purpoſe in the reign of his grandfather, of which we have taken notice more than once. As the then commiſſioners of the navy were men of fair character, though they had been ſo unlucky in the management of their office, the king would not remove them, but cauſed their names to be inſerted in this commiſſion, which ſuperſeded their own, with the addition of a few old ſervants, though new commiſſioners, on whoſe ſkill and vigilance he depended. The old commiſſioners were the lord viſcount *Falkland*, ſir *John Tippets*, ſir *Richard Haddock*, ſir *Phineas Pett*, ſir *John Narborough*, Mr. *Southerne*, ſir *Richard Beach*, ſir *John Godwin*. The new ones, ſir *Anthony Dean*, ſir *John Berry*, Mr. *Hewer*, and Mr. *St. Michael*. This commiſſion was dated

ed the 17th of *April* 1686, and by it the commiſſioners were directed to enquire into, and remedy all the diſorders that were then in the navy, to reſtore it in every reſpect to good order, and from time to time to report the proceedings to his majeſty and the privy council, as they were particularly enjoined in that commiſſion[1].

THE commiſſioners veſted with theſe powers loſt no time, but fell immediately on a diligent inſpection into the ſtate of the navy, enquired ſtrictly into the cauſes of paſt miſcarriages, with reſpect rather to things than men, and taking ſuch meaſures for the immediate remedy of the miſchief they diſcovered, that the old ſhips were perfectly repaired; the new ones, where they wanted it, altered and mended; the yards properly ſupplied with the ableſt workmen; all the ſtorehouſes filled with whatever was

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[1] The whole of this account is taken from Mr. Pepy's memoirs relating to the ſtate of the royal navy of England, wherein he tells us, that the following qualifications were chiefly conſidered in the choice of the new commiſſioners, purſuant to a memorial addreſſed by him to the king, and drawn by his maſters directions, viz.

"I. A practiſed knowledge in every part of the works and "methods of your navy, both at the board and in your yards. "The not diſcerning of which (and the others that follow) ap"pears to have coſt your royal brother and you within the fore"mentioned five years, above half a million. II. A general "maſtery in the buſineſs and accounts, though more particularly "thoſe incident to the affairs of your navy. III. Vigour of mind, "joined with approved induſtry, zeal, and perſonal aptneſs for "labour. IV. An entire reſignation of themſelves, and their "whole time to this your ſervice, without liableneſs to avocation "from other buſineſs or pleaſure. V. Laſtly, Such credit with "your majeſty for integrity and loyalty, as may (with the for"mer conditions) lead both yourſelf and my lord treaſurer, to an "entire confidence of having all done, that can be morally ex"pected from them, in the advancement of your ſervice, and the "circumſpect and orderly diſpenſing and improving of your trea"ſure."

was requiſite bought at the beſt hand, and in all reſpects the beſt in their kind; the eſtimates brought into proper order, and the whole œconomy of the navy reduced into ſo clear a method, that it was impoſſible any officer could be ignorant of, or miſtake in his duty, the public ſervice ſuffer in any of its various branches, or the king run any hazard of being cheated without an immediate diſcovery of the offender. That all this might more fully and indiſputably appear (beſides the reports directed by the commiſſion being duly made) the commiſſioners engaged his majeſty to viſit in perſon the yards, docks, ſtore-houſes, &c. which, conſidering his perfect acquaintance with naval affairs, made it impoſſible he ſhould be deceived; and then having demonſtrated the juſtice of their conduct, by leaving the navy much encreaſed, in perfect order, and with ſea-ſtores valued at four hundred thouſand pounds, they laid down their poſts, their commiſſion being ſuperſeded with a juſt approbation of their conduct, by letters patent under the great ſeal, *October* 12, 1688. Thus in little more than two years time this great reform was made, all the officers of the navy in general paid to a farthing, and a ſaving made to the public of three hundred ſeven thouſand five hundred and ſeventy pounds nine ſhillings and four-pence, and this for the inconſiderable expence of ſix thouſand pounds paid to the new commiſſioners.

WHILE this commiſſion ſubſiſted, the king iſſued new inſtructions to the officers commanding his ſhips of war, theſe are dated the 15th of *July* 1686, and are extremely well calculated for promoting the public ſervice, ſecuring diſcipline, and preſerving proper memorials of every man's particular merit, by obliging all captains and ſuperior officers, to depoſit a perfect copy of their journals with the ſecretary of the admiralty. As many things in theſe regulations

lations might ſeem to bear hard upon commanders, and to deprive them of thoſe emoluments which their predeceſſors had enjoyed; his majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to grant them very conſiderable favours, ſuch as a ſettled allowance for their tables[k], ſeveral advantages in reſpect to prizes, *&c.* and in the cloſe, the king was pleaſed to promiſe to take ſpecial notice of, and amply to reward, every inſtance of courage, care or diligence in any of his officers, upon proper atteſtations depoſited with the ſecretary of the admiralty.

We need not wonder that in conſequence of ſo great an attention, the *Britiſh* fleet was in very good order when king *James* had the firſt notice of the prince of *Orange's* deſign; but we may be juſtly ſurprized at the ſtrange management of maritime affairs from that time. A ſquadron of ſhips was indeed ordered to ſea under the command of ſir *Roger Strickland*, then rear-admiral of *England*, who was, perhaps, the moſt improper man in the world to command them, on account of his being obnoxious to the ſeamen, by the readineſs he had ſhewn in

[k] The reader may form a proper conception of the importance of this regulation, by conſidering the following table which ſhews the proportion maintained in this new allowance, ſo as to make it a juſt equivalent for the perquiſites taken away by this inſtruction.

Rate.	Preſent Wages.	Preſent Victualling.	Additional Grant for his table.
	l. s.	*l. s. d.*	*l. s.*
1	273 15	12 3 4	250
2	219	12 3 4	200
3	182	12 3 4	166 5
4	136 10	12 3 4	124 5
5	109 10	12 3 4	100
6	91	12 3 4	83

bringing prieſts on board the fleet. His ſquadron was ordered to the *Downs* very indifferently manned, and when he complained of it, and deſired to have ſoldiers at leaſt ſent on board; this was very ſlowly done, conſidering the importance of the ſervice. By his inſtructions he was to have remained in the *Downs*; but conceiving that to be a very improper ſtation for the ſervice he was to perform, after conſulting with the captains in whom he could beſt confide, he certified as much to the court, and offered it as his opinion, that it would be better, for the fleet to remain at the buoy of the gun-fleet, near *Harwich*. The king, as ſoon as he received this advice, ſent for lord *Dartmouth*, ſir *John Berry*, captain *John Clements*, the three elder brothers of the *Trinity-houſe* at *Deptford*, and Mr. *Pepys*, to whom he communicated ſir *Roger Strickland's* letter, and in conſequence of their joint advice, ſent the admiral orders to go out of the *Downs* with the firſt eaſterly wind, and place himſelf between the north ſand-head, and the *Kentiſh Knock*, there to continue under ſail in the day time, and at anchor in the night, in order to obſerve the *Dutch* fleet, and to gain the beſt intelligence of them he could, in purſuance of the inſtructions then ſent him [1].

WHEN the danger appeared more clearly, this fleet was ordered to retire to the *Buoy in the Nore*; and lord *Dartmouth* was ordered to ſea, with ſuch a reinforcement as made the whole fleet under his command, conſiſt of forty men of war of which thirty-eight were of the line of battle, and eighteen fire-ſhips. This fleet being at the gun-fleet, and ready in all reſpects to ſail, a council of war was called,

[1] Burchet's naval hiſtory, p. 411. Kennet's compleat hiſtory of England, Echard, Rapin, &c.

called, wherein ſir *William Jemings*, who commanded a third rate, propoſed to put to ſea, and ſtand over to the *Dutch* coaſts, as the ſhorteſt and ſureſt way to prevent an invaſion. This propoſition, however, was rejected by a great majority, and ſo it was reſolved to continue there, the true ground of this, as Mr. ſecretary *Burchet* fairly tells us, was the ſecret reſolution of the greateſt part of the captains to hinder the admiral, in caſe he had come up with the *Dutch* fleet, from doing them much damage; and thus it appears how ineffectual fleets and armies are, when princes have loſt the confidence of thoſe who ſerve in or command them.

IT may not now be amiſs to caſt our eyes over to *Holland*, in order to conſider the force preparing there for this invaſion. His highneſs the prince of *Orange* had about his perſon abundance of *Engliſh* noblemen and gentlemen, particularly the earls of *Shrewſbury*, and *Macclesfield*, the lords *Mordaunt*, *Wiltſhire*, *Pawlet*, *Elan*, and *Dumblain*, admiral *Herbert*, Mr. *Herbert*, colonel *Sidney*, Mr. *Ruſſel*, ſir *Rowland Gwyn*, major *Wildman*, dr. *Bennet*, mr. *Harbord*, mr. *Ferguſon*, and beſides the general officers of the ſtates, the marſhal *Schomberg*, count *Charles*, his ſon mr. *Caillemotte*, younger ſon to the marquis of *Rouvigni*, and two or three hundred *French* refugees. The fleet that was to carry theſe conſiſted of about fifty ſail, moſt of them third or fourth rates, and the tranſports were about five hundred. Theſe with twenty-five fire-ſhips made up the whole navy; the land forces embarked were four thouſand horſe and dragoons, and ten thouſand foot. It was very remarkable, that though all the captains of theſe veſſels were *Dutch*, yet the chief command was given to admiral *Herbert*, who very lately commanded the *Engliſh* fleet; and this with a view either

to engage ſhips to come over, or at leaſt to encourage the ſeamen to deſert. In order to do this more effectually, *Herbert* firſt addreſſed a letter to his countrymen in the ſea-ſervice, and then ſtood with the *Dutch* fleet over to the *Downs*, in order to look at the *Engliſh* ſquadron, and try what effects his exhortations had produced. At that time his ſucceſs did not promiſe much, and after a fortnight's cruizing, he returned to the *Dutch* coaſts, with a better opinion of the king's fleet, and a worſe of his own, than when he ſailed. But for all this, his epiſtle did almoſt as much ſervice as the force he commanded; for though the deſertion was inconſiderable, yet by degrees the ſailors loſt their ſpirits, and their officers began to cabal, and to conſult, not how they ſhould execute the orders they had received, but how they might beſt ſecure the fleet.

ON the 19th of *October* 1688, the prince went on board, and the whole fleet ſailed that night; but the next day the wind turning north, and then ſettling in the north-weſt, it was found impoſſible to ſtruggle with it; and therefore, on the 21ſt the fleet returned, after having been rudely handled by a ſtorm. On the firſt of *November* the fleet ſailed again. The prince intended to have gone northwards, and to have landed in the mouth of the *Humber*; but a ſtrong eaſt wind rendered this impracticable, and ſeemed to direct them to a better courſe. His highneſs then ſailed weſtward, the ſame wind which brought him to the *Engliſh* coaſt keeping in the king's ſhips, though they were come down ſo low as the *Gun-fleet*. There in a foggy day they paſſed the *Engliſh* navy undiſcerned, except a few tranſports which ſailed in ſight, while the *Engliſh* fleet rode with their yards and top-maſts down, and could not by reaſon of the extraordinary violence of the wind purchaſe their anchors. On the 4th of

November

November at noon, it was reſolved on board the *Dutch* fleet, that part of the ſhips ſhould go into *Dartmouth*, and the reſt into *Torbay*; but in the night the pilots overſhot both, and then it was determined to go into *Plymouth*, which if they had done, might have proved fatal; but the wind ſuddenly turning from eaſt to ſouth, corrected the error of their pilots, and brought them ſafe into *Torbay*, where the army was immediately landed, and the prince made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for drawing the country gentlemen in the neighbourhood to join him.

As ſoon as the wind would permit, the earl of *Dartmouth*, a gallant, loyal and active officer, weighed with the *Engliſh* fleet, and ſtood to ſea with a reſolution to follow and fight the *Dutch*. Secretary *Burchet* and biſhop *Burnet* ſeem to contradict each other in what they ſay on this ſubject; the ſecretary informs us, that lord *Dartmouth* came before *Torbay* with his fleet, and gave the *Dutch* an opportunity of ſeeing what his ſtrength might enable him to have done, if he had inclined to treat them as enemies. The prelate on the contrary ſays, that lord *Dartmouth* aſſured him ſometime after, that whatever ſtories the *Dutch* might have heard either of officers or ſeamen, he was confident they would have fought very heartily. This ſeeming contradiction may however, be eaſily reconciled; for this diſpoſition of fighting, is to be referred to the time when the *Engliſh* firſt got to ſea, and then, if they had come up with the *Dutch* fleet, it is very probable they had come to blows, and the buſineſs had been decided by a battle: but when the wind turning to the ſouth, carried the prince's fleet into *Torbay*, it forced the *Engliſh* fleet back, and afterwards riſing into a ſtorm, ruffled them ſo much, that it was two or three days before lord *Dartmouth* came again before *Torbay*; and then it was, that as Mr. *Burchet* ſays, he ſhewed the *Dutch* fleet,

fleet, capable indeed, but little inclined to hurt them. The ſeamen had time in this ſpace, to conſider what they were doing, and ſuch of the officers as were well affected to the prince's deſign, had an opportunity of working upon them, and diſpoſing things for his ſervice; and thus that naval force, which the king had cultivated with ſo great care, and on which he depended ſo much, proved of little or no uſe, as well as his army: ſo difficult a thing it is to bring *Engliſhmen* to enſlave *England!*

As to the conduct of the king, after the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet, it was ſo unaccountable in itſelf, and ſo much has been ſaid of it, by other writers, that it is abſolutely unneceſſary for me to inſiſt upon it: I ſhall only obſerve, that it was very ſtrange he paid ſo little attention to the fleet, ſince, if we except the care he took in ſending away his family, it does not appear, that he iſſued any orders relating thereto; which will ſeem ſtill the more extraordinary, if we conſider, that his admiral was not only a man of quality, and one on whoſe fidelity he could abſolutely depend; but alſo an experienced officer, and a man extremely beloved by the ſailors[m]. In all probability, he

[m] Admiral Legg, had been created lord Dartmouth by king Charles II. but he received much greater favours from king James, in whoſe reign, he was maſter of the horſe, general of the ordnance, conſtable of the Tower of London, one of the lords of the privy-council, colonel of the royal regiment of fuſileers, and captain of an independent company of foot. He was alſo high ſteward of Dartmouth, Kingſton upon Thames, and recorder of Litchfield. In the year 1687, attending the king in his progreſs, and the city of Coventry preſenting his majeſty with a large gold cup and cover, he immediately deliver'd it to the lord Dartmouth, telling him, there was an acknowledgment from the city of Coventry, for his father's ſufferings in their town; where, during the civil wars,

he was deterred from taking any meaſures of this ſort, by what happened at the docks, where the workmen employed in the ſervice of the royal navy, roſe on a ſudden, and without any other arms than the tools belonging to their trades, drove out a regiment of regular troops quartered at *Rocheſter*, and *Chatham*, and declared for the proteſtant religion, and the prince of *Orange*.

It is alſo not improbable, that the king was diſcouraged from making any applications to the ſeamen, in whom he had formerly ſhewn much confidence, by the revolt of *Guernſey* and *Jerſey*, where the people, and eſpecially the ſailors belonging to the veſſels in their harbours, ſeized ſeveral popiſh officers, who had been ſent thither to diſcipline their militia, and on other pretences; and this upon the firſt news of the invaſion here. To ſay the truth, the ſea-faring people all over the nation, but particularly in *Briſtol* and *London*, declared unanimouſly and vehemently againſt his meaſures, and did all in their power to prevent the moſt obnoxious of his miniſters, ſuch as chancellor *Jefferies* and father *Petre*, from making their eſcape: which can be attributed to nothing but the juſt ſenſe they had of the iniquitous meaſures theſe people had purſued; for, as to themſelves, they had no particular grievances.

But what is ſtill more ſtrange, the king made no uſe of

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wars, he had ſuffered a long impriſonment. The ſucceeding year, he was made admiral of the fleet of England, then ſet out to intercept the Dutch fleet, bringing over the prince of Orange; which employment he accepted out of gratitude to the king, who, as biſhop Burnet writes, loved him, and in whoſe ſervice and confidence he had long been. The biſhop alſo ſays, that he was indeed one of the worthieſt men of his court; but he was much againſt the conduct of his affairs; yet he reſolved to ſtick to him at all hazards. Collins's peerage of England, vol. iii. p. 108.

of the *French* power at ſea, though he was in the ſtricteſt alliance with that court. A *French* fleet, if fitted out at that juncture, might have made the *Dutch* more cautious, even while this invaſion was under their deliberation. Or, if a *French* ſquadron had joined his own navy, as in his brother's time, when we were engaged in the laſt *Dutch* war, this muſt have had a great weight. For though in the former caſe, the *French* ſquadrons, as we have ſhewn, never did any good; yet now the circumſtances of things being altered, and the *French* king ſo nearly concerned in breaking a confederacy, which he knew to be forming againſt him, and of which this was the firſt apparent act, as well as in ſuccouring ſo firm and ſo uſeful an ally; there is reaſon to believe his officers and ſeamen would have acted heartily and harmoniouſly. Beſides, the *French* naval power (without our king's aſſiſtance) was now quite another thing than it was in the *Dutch* war, ſince very lately they had fought the *Dutch* upon equal terms in the *Mediterranean* with honour, and conſequently were capable of fighting them elſewhere, as the *States* very well knew, and would have been unwilling to run any ſuch hazard. But above all, in ſo delicate a conjuncture, the appearance of a large *French* fleet, would have compelled his own to fight, and in all probability, would have reaſſumed the timid, and put ſuſpected captains on exerting themſelves to wipe out the imputations of their enemies. The engaging the *Dutch* was what he ought chiefly to have aimed at; for an action muſt have done him ſervice, by rouſing the ſpirits of his ſailors, who would then have baniſhed all Diffidence, and conſidered nothing but the ſupport of the *Engliſh* reputation. Theſe obvious advantages he miſſed, either from a ſtrong perſuaſion that his own force was more than ſufficient to repel the invaders; or, as it is commonly reported,

ported, by the advice of the earl of *Sunderland*, who diſcouraged the having recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance from arguments drawn from the king and nation's ſafety, and ſo the king, when he wanted them moſt, had neither a fleet of his own, or of his allies, at his devotion; which if he had, it is not improbable he might have turned the tables again, and forced the *Dutch* off the coaſt.

THE miſtakes committed on this ſide, were heightened in their appearance by the great caution and wiſe management on the other; and by the foreſeen, and unforeſeen conſequences of the whole tranſaction. The embarkation, was made with eaſe; the paſſage better regulated by the winds, than it could have been by their prudence; the deſcent in the fitteſt place in *England* for landing of horſe, ſo that it was performed without difficulty, as well as without danger. Biſhop *Burnet*, therefore, ſays truly, that theſe lines from *Claudian*, were very happily applied to the prince of *Orange*'s expedition.

O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat æther,
Et conjurati veniunt ad claſſica venti.

Oh heaven-protected chief! whom ſkies defend,
And on whoſe call, ſubmiſſive winds attend.

IN *Holland*, they triumphed on the exact execution of the plan laid down by the *States*, and the moſt eminent news-writer they then had, made this obſervation on the ſucceſs of the princes enterprize, in his reflections on the hiſtory of *Europe*, for *November* 1688. "The expence "beſtowed on the fleet and army, ſet out from *Holland*, "is a ſign they are morally aſſured of the ſucceſs of the

" expedition, which I am apt to think has been a long " time in agitation, though it was carried with that pru- " dence and ſecrecy, as not to be diſcovered, 'till it could " be no longer concealed." When skill, induſtry, and zeal were viſibly on the part of the prince; and weakneſs, irreſolution, and diffidence apparent in all the king's meaſures, it was impoſſible things ſhould continue long in diſpute, or that his highneſs, who knew ſo well how to uſe the advantages that were in his hands, ſhould not prevail.

When lord *Dartmouth* ſaw the diſpoſition of his officers, and how little it was in his power to ſerve his maſter, he wiſely yielded to neceſſity, and ſailing once again into the *Downs*, and there holding a council of war, it was reſolved, firſt to diſmiſs from their commands all ſuch officers as were known to be papiſts, or ſuſpected ſo to be, and then to ſend up an addreſs to his highneſs, ſetting forth their ſteady affection to the proteſtant religion, and their ſincere concern for the ſafety, freedom, and honour of their country. Not long after this, the ſhips were diſperſed, ſome to the dock-yards, to be diſmantled, and laid up, others to be cleaned and repaired; and ſuch as were in the beſt condition for the ſea, were appointed for neceſſary ſervices.

These were all the ſervices performed by the *Engliſh* navy, during the reign of a prince, who, while a ſubject, had ſerved and acquired a reputation at ſea; who underſtood maritime affairs perfectly well, and who attended to them with extraordinary diligence. But it ought to be remembered, that tho' this fleet was uſeleſs to him, yet it was of the higheſt advantage to the nation. If he had been leſs careful in this reſpect; if he had left the navy in a low condition; nay, if he had left it as he found it,

at

at his brother's deceaſe, it would have been impoſſible for us to have withſtood the naval power of *France*, which had been for ſeveral years growing, and about the time of the revolution, or a little before it had attained its greateſt height. As it was, the king left behind him, as numerous, and in every reſpect as compleat and well furniſhed a navy, as *England* had ever ſeen; ſo that, when the *French* came out with ſuch a ſtrength as amazed all the world, it ſurprized indeed, but did not fright us. We were quickly in a condition to look them in the face, and the ſubſequent part of this work will ſhew, that notwithſtanding the mighty change that had happened in a ſhort time abroad, and the pains almoſt every where taken to create a naval force, yet we were as able to aſſert our ſovereignty in our own ſeas, and to maintain the honour of our flag every where elſe, as in any preceeding period.

I ſhall conclude this volume, by exhibiting to the reader's view, an exact account of the fleet, and the condition in which it was left by king *James*, in order to prove what has been before aſſerted, and to prepare him for the hiſtory of thoſe actions at ſea, which followed in the next reign.

An abſtract of the liſt of the royal navy of *England*, upon the 18th of *December*, 1688. With the force of the whole.

Ships and Veſſels.		Force.		
		Number.	Men.	Guns.
Rates.	1	9	6,705	878
	2	11	7,010	974
	3	39	16,545	2,640
	4	41	9,480	1,908
	5	2	260	60
	6	6	420	90
Bombers.		3	120	34
Fire-ſhips.		26	905	218
Hoys.		6	22	
Hulks.		8	50	
Ketches.		3	115	24
Smacks.		5	18	
Yatchs.		14	353	104
		173	42,003	6,930

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A GENERAL

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